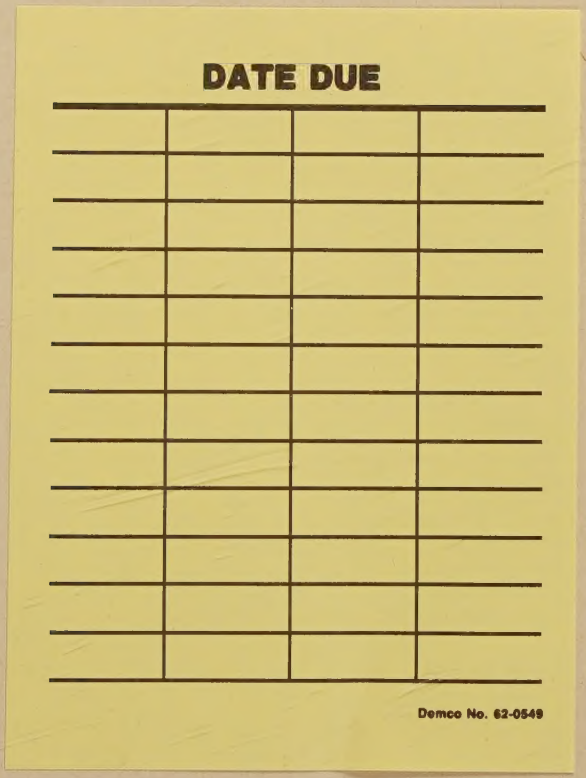
MANITOWOC

OCT 06 1997



Augustin Grignon (1780–1860)

Enlarged from daguerreotype in possession of the Society

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

EDITED BY

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D.
Secretary and Superintendent of the Society

VOL. XX

The Fur-Trade in Wisconsin—1812-1825
A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal—1803-04

MADISON
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1911

Published by Authority of Law

2,500 COPIES PRINTED

DEMOCRAT PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTER

76
81
20

Contents

PAGE

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1911 ix

PREFACE xi

THE FUR-TRADE IN WISCONSIN, 1812-25

1812: FACTORY SYSTEM THREATENS BRITISH CONTROL OF INDIANS 1
1818: BRITISH TRADERS VERSUS FACTORY SYSTEM . . . 12
1818: EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS 16
1818: AMERICAN FUR COMPANY UNJUSTLY TREATED . . 17
1818: WHO CONSTITUTE FOREIGNERS 32
1818: A TRADER'S PREPARATION 34
1818: ADVANTAGES OF FACTORY SYSTEM 37
1818: RETURNS FROM UPPER MISSISSIPPI . . . 42
1818: MODIFICATION OF EXCLUSION ORDERS . . . 42
1818: LICENSES MAY NOT BE GRANTED BEYOND AGENCY BOUNDARIES 47
1818: INDIAN CENSUS 50
1818: NEWS FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN 51
1818: A TRADER'S TRIBULATIONS 52
1818: REPORT FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN FACTORY . . 54
1818: PASSPORT FOR AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S AGENT . . 55
1818: EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS 55
1818: PRAIRIE DU CHIEN FACTORY 58
1818: PASSPORT FOR ROLETTE 59
1818: DEFENSE OF FACTOR AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN . . . 62
1818: FACTORS TO AID IN EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS . . 64
1818: ADVANTAGES OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM . . . 66
1818: LICENSES FOR GREEN BAY TRADERS 80
1818: FACTORIES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED 82
1818: INSTRUCTIONS FOR A TRADER 87
1818: PRICES FOR LICENSES 88
1818: COMPLAINTS FROM GREEN BAY 90
1818: PROFIT AND LOSS AT FACTORIES 95
1818: HISTORY OF FUR-TRADE COMPANIES 96
1819: DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORTATION 99

1819: New factory established 101
1819: Plans to leave Green Bay . . . 102, 105
1819: Licenses must be respected 103
1819: Factory supplies loaned 104
1819: License bond 107
1819: News from Kakalin 108
1819: Wampum for factory 109
1819: Green Bay settlers to remove to Red River . . 109
1819: Exclusion of foreigners 115
1819: Licenses for Wisconsin traders 118
1819: Rights of citizenship 120, 138
1819: Winnebago hostile 126
1819: Licenses for foreigners 127
1819: Fur-traders en route 129
1819: Licenses revoked 133, 136
1819: American clerk employed 136
1819: Skins tampered with 137
1820: Winnebago hostilities 139
1820: Difficulties of Wisconsin traders . . . 145
1820: Wintering in Wisconsin 149
1820: Transportation difficulties 151
1820: Wintering on the Wisconsin . . . 153, 156
1820: News from Red River 154
1820: Influence in Congress 162
1820: News from Prairie du Chien 164
1820: Citizenship secured 171
1820: Transportation of furs 172
1820: Factory at Prairie du Chien 175
1820: Trade at Milwaukee 176
1820: Naturalization papers 177
1820: Foreigners still trading 179
1820: Factory prices 181
1820: Liquor in Indian country 182
1820: Traders' subterfuges 183
1820: Factory sales 186
1821: Transportation of factory goods . . . 187
1821: Drouine in Wisconsin 188
1821: Are factories honest? 190
1821: Wisconsin traders' letters 192
1821: Deterioration of factory goods 198
1821: Failure of Green Bay agency 198
1821: Gunpowder needed for trade 200
1821: American versus British trade 201

1821: Factories unprofitable 203
1821: Competitors united 206
1821: A winterer's engagement 212
1821: Economies essential 213
1821: Damaged goods as presents 215
1821: Citizenship granted 215
1821: Milwaukee trade 216
1821: Factories consolidated 219
1821: A bourgeois license 220
1821: Wintering arrangements 220
1821: Liquor forbidden 227
1821: Proceeds of Prairie du Chien factory . . . 230
1821: Word from Green Bay 232
1821: Green Bay factor 233
1821: Augustin Grignon on the Upper Mississippi . . 234
1821: Census of tribesmen 237
1822: The Green Bay Company to aid Augustin Grignon . 239
1822: Congress investigates factory system . . . 239
1822: Condolence for Augustin Grignon . . . 241
1822: Factory goods transferred 242
1822: Violence on the Upper Mississippi . . . 243
1822: Intercourse with British to be broken off . . 248
1822: Passport for British trader 254
1822: The Green Bay Company 254
1822: Factories are abolished 256
1822: Charges against Rolette 257
1822: Mackinac Indians withdrawn from British influence 261
1822: Continuance of Green Bay Company . . . 261
1822: New arrangements for Indian agents . . . 263
1822: Misdeeds to be punished 264
1822: Closing the factories 265, 278
1822: Distress at Prairie du Chien 266
1822: Green Bay Company arrangements . . . 268
1822: Liquor at Milwaukee 270
1822: Restitution for Augustin Grignon . . . 274
1822: Milwaukee trader violates the law . . . 275
1822: American Fur Company unjust 277
1822: Instructions for Lake Superior trader . . . 279
1822: An Indian creditor 280
1822: A license 281
1822: Fur-traders' transportation 282
1822: Wintering arrangements 283
1822: Disposal of factory goods 285

1822: Instructions concerning licenses . . . 289
1822: American Fur Company to Green Bay Company . 290
1822: Liquor in the Indian country 291
1823: British influence ceases 298
1823: Wintering partners 299, 325
1823: Closing the factories 300
1823: Death of Pierre Grignon 301
1823: Seizure of liquor 305
1823: Permission to introduce liquor on Lake Superior . 306
1823: Green Bay partners at Mackinac . . . 307
1823: Arrangements of Green Bay Company . . . 311
1823: News from Green Bay 318
1823: The Green Bay agent 326
1824: Fur prices fall 329
1824: Wintering in Wisconsin 330
1824: Astor to Crooks 335
1824: Trade at Green Bay 336
1824: Regulations concerning trading stations . . 339
1824: Affidavits and contracts 340
1824: An illegal trader 345
1824: Census of Wisconsin Indians 349
1824: Hard times at Green Bay 351
1824: Necessity of credits 353
1824: A trader's contract 355
1824: Licenses at Rock Island 356
1824: The Menominee River posts 358
1824: Milwaukee traders 360
1824: Post at Sheboygan 362
1824: Sauk and Fox traders 363
1824: Trading house sites 365
1824: Milwaukee in Chicago agency 367
1825: Explanations of agent 368
1825: The post at Fond du Lac 371
1825: Prices for furs 372
1825: Licenses conflict 374
1825: The spring credits 375
1825: Trading sites 377
1825: The Green Bay Company 378
1825: Trader among Foxes 380
1825: Opposition traders 381
1825: Evils of use of liquor in fur-trade . . . 382
1825: Fox River trade 387
1825: The affair of 1817 389

1825: Fond du Lac 390
1825: Typical invoices 392
1825–26: Specimen credits 393

A WISCONSIN FUR-TRADER'S JOURNAL, 1803-04

By Michel Cubot, July 28, 1803 to June 16, 1804 . . 396

Index 473

Illustrations

PAGE

AUGUSTIN GRIGNON (1780–1860). Enlarged from daguerreotype in possession of the Society . . . . . *Frontispiece*

OLD AMERICAN FUR COMPANY WAREHOUSE, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. From photograph taken in recent years 42

FUR-TRADING HOUSE AT KAUKAUNA. From photograph taken in 1890 42

THE ORIGINAL FORT CRAWFORD, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. From Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, iii, p. 118 . . . 58

JOSEPH JOURDAIN. From a photograph in possession of the Society 100

TSI-ZUN-HAU-KAU, A WINNEBAGO WARRIOR. From colored lithograph in McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1854), i, p. 195 140

OLD FUR-TRADE HOUSE OF AMERICAN FUR COMPANY, MACKINAC. From photograph taken about 1910 168

WHAT REMAINS OF OLD FORT SNELLING 168

DANIEL WHITNEY (1795–1862). From oil portrait by unknown artist, in possession of the Society 221

STEAMBOAT "WALK-IN-THE-WATER" AT DETROIT, 1820. From contemporary lithograph 245

NAW-KAW (CARAMAUNEE), A WINNEBAGO CHIEF. From colored lithograph in McKenney and Hall, *Indian Tribes* i, p. 315 267

HERCULES L. DOUSMAN (1800–1868). From oil portrait by Conrad W. Heyd, in possession of the Society . . . 304

ALBERT G. ELLIS (1800–1885). From oil portrait by his daughter, in possession of the Society 317

KEE-O-TUCK, OR THE WATCHING FOX, CHIEF OF THE SAUK. As he appeared at Prairie du Chien treaty, 1825. From contemporary colored lithograph, by J. O. Lewis . . . 366

PART OF A PAGE OF CUROT'S JOURNAL 396

OJIBWA INDIAN WOMEN GATHERING WILD RICE. From oil painting by Seth Eastman, in room of House Committee on Military Affairs, Washington, D. C. 404

Officers, 1911

President

Lucius Charles Colman, B. A.	La Crosse

Vice-Presidents

Hon. Emil Baensch	Manitowoc
Hon. Burr W. Jones, M. A.	Madison
Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan	McMillan
Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B.	Eau Claire
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Secretary and Superintendent

Reuben G. Thwaites, LL. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Librarian and Assistant Superintendent

Isaac S. Bradley, B. S.	Madison

Curators, Ex-Officio

Hon. Francis E. McGovern	Governor
Hon. James A. Frear	Secretary of State
Hon. Andrew H. Dahl	State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

Term expires at annual meeting in 1911

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.
Hon. Emil Baensch
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.
Alfred A. Jackson, M. A.
Burr W. Jones, M. A.
*Hon. Elisha W. Keyes
Hon. John Luchsinger
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
John B. Parkinson, M. A.
William A. Scott, Ph. D.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1912

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.
William K. Coffin, M. S.
Richard T. Ely, LL. D.
Hon. Lucien S. Hanks
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.
Col. Hiram Hayes
Rev. Patrick B. Knox
Maj. Frank W. Oakley
Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
William W. Wight, M. A.

Term expires at annual meeting in 1913

Robert M. Bashford, M. A.
Jairus H. Carpenter, LL. D.
Victor Coffin, Ph. D.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.
Matthew S. Dudgeon, M. A.
Carl R. Fish, Ph. D.
Hon. Benjamin F. McMillan
Dana C. Munro, M. A.
William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
William J. Starr, LL. B.
Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Executive Committee

The thirty-nine curators, the secretary, and the librarian constitute the executive committee.

*Died November 28, 1910

Preface

In volume xix we began the publication of a body of documentary material serviceable for a first-hand study of the Wisconsin fur-trade, down to 1817. The present volume continues the series; but for reasons stated on page 1, it reverts in the opening document to the year 1812 and extends the story through 1825. In the history of the fur-trade, the period of 1812–25 was, for what we now know as Wisconsin, a time not only of transition but of crisis. Before the outbreak of our second war with Great Britain the fur-trade in the so-called Upper Country had experienced little change, either in methods or in *personelle*. Under Jay's Treaty (1796), the Americans had been given control of the Northwest posts. About 1808 John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company superseded the old Michilimakinac Company of British traders, and took over its territory, of which Wisconsin was a part. Astor, however, naturally found it expedient to employ as agents and crews those men who had been trained to the business. Thus the same Mackinac, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien Frenchmen, or their descendants, who had served during the French regime and had continued in the employ of the British, were now the representatives of a New York instead of a Montreal house. The transfer had not much altered the method of conducting the trade itself.

But the opening of the War of 1812–15 demoralized all previous arrangements. It now became a military necessity that the United States should insist on each trader declaring whether his political allegiance was to remain British or be henceforth American. Heretofore, the rival companies operat-

ing along the international frontier had been conscious of no political divisions; but the incident at Astoria, on the Northwest Coast, showed that under hostile conditions there must needs be a fierce clashing of interests, for business rivals had now become political enemies. This sharpening of relations was especially acute in Wisconsin. In 1805–06 the principal Wisconsin traders had courteously welcomed Lieut. Z. M. Pike and accepted American commissions as civil and Indian officials; they now turned front, repudiated these commissions, and at the head of their forest allies took the war-path in an attempt to drive Americans and American sympathizers from the country of the Upper Lakes.

The signing of the Treaty of Ghent (December, 1814) did not quench this spirit of Anglo-French hostility toward American interests. The Canadian traders and their barbaric followers were keenly disappointed that this instrument had not redrawn the international boundary in the region of the Upper Lakes. With the aid of the local militia they had with much display of valor wrested from the Americans the forts of Mackinac and Prairie du Chien and the broad belt of territory dominated by those posts, and had hoped that the peace would confirm to them its acquisition. The district which they had captured and held had in fact never ceased to be British in spirit, and should, they claimed, have remained British territory. Small wonder, therefore, that tribesmen, traders, and *habitants* felt aggrieved at the peace settlement and long refused to be reconciled.

The treaties made by American officials with the Indian tribes at Portage des Sioux in 1815 and 1816 were the fruit of virtual threats by the former. The Winnebago did not as a whole treat for peace, but for years sullenly brooded. As a matter of fact, most Wisconsin Indians hated the "Big Knives," and until long after 1825, the year with which these documents cease, made annual trips to Drummond Island and Amherstburg to consult with their wily British "father". This intercourse continually invited disorder among our wards,

but American authorities long found its discontinuance impracticable.

As soon as peace was declared between Great Britain and the United States, the Americans began to assert control of the Northwestern fur-trade, and to threaten expulsion of those inhabitants who would not consent to become citizens of the republic. The first step was to build and garrison forts in the recovered territory. The Mackinac and Chicago posts that had throughout the war been in the hands of the British or of their Indian allies and were now retroceded to the United States, required strengthening and equipping; at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien new strongholds were erected; a few years later (1819), Fort Snelling was established on the upper reaches of the Mississippi River. Next, came the rehabilitation of the government fur-trade factories.[1] The Mackinac factory was not restored, possibly because geographically it was not convenient to the needs of any considerable body of Indians, although the island remained the chief outfitting and gathering station for the Upper Country; but new locations for factories were chosen at Chicago, Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien.[2]

The outlook for the system was hopeful, and sanguine observers freely prophesied beneficent effects from fair dealing with the Indians. It was pointed out that the tribesman who, for instance, had at Green Bay paid fifteen dollars for a pound of tobacco and a dollar-and-a-half for a thimble, would readily recognize and appreciate the benevolence of a government that sold him articles at cost and paid him full market value for his furs. A British admirer of the plan wrote: "He [the Indian] had only to present a portion of his furs etc. for barter to the Canadian Traders, and the like at the States Trading House, and the advantages of dealing with the latter were too palpable to be overlooked."

[1] For a discussion of the founding and purposes of the United States fur-trade factories, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. xviii, 311, 326–335.

[2] No factory appears to have been established at Fort Snelling; plans were made therefor, but before they could be perfected the system was abolished.

Unfortunately for the success of the system, the transactions were not thus simple. The improvident barbarian, having no reserve stock of necessities, could not possibly go out to his winter's hunt unless supplied in advance, and on unsecured credit, with firearms, ammunition, clothing, and sundries of various kinds. To the repayment of these credits, he pledged to the trader the peltries which he was about to seek. Obviously, goods advanced under such hazardous conditions were charged for at the highest possible prices; and furs brought in exchange therefor were received at the lowest prevailing rates. To secure such credits among the Indians, who were shifty and uncertain in their financial relations, the trader was under the necessity of sending clerks and *voyageurs* to follow as many of them as possible to their hunting grounds and to secure on the spot as much of their peltry harvest as could thus be obtained; also to waylay others in the forest and along the streams, on their return to the summer villages. Thus almost wholly depleted of the fruits of their winter's hunt, the Indians reached Green Bay or Prairie du Chien with but few skins to present at the government trading house, for barter on a strictly market basis.

The government factors encountered other sources of trouble. It had been the custom of both French and British Indian officials periodically to make considerable presents to their forest wards; weapons, ammunition, utensils, clothing, ornaments, and liquor were distributed among them with a rather free hand, being regarded as a sort of annuity to secure the continuance of their good will. Under the rules adopted for the American government factory system, the factors were held to a strict accountability for the goods placed in their hands. They were not furnished with presents for the Indians, yet the withholding of such gratuities was interpreted by the latter as evidence of meanness, than which no vice is more contemptible in aboriginal eyes. Moreover, no liquor could be obtained at the factories in exchange for furs—the federal government even forbade private traders to deal in this power-

ful incentive to forest trade; a prohibition, however, constantly violated by even the best of the factor's rivals.

Square dealing at the factory, when devoid of credit, presents, and liquor, offered little attraction to the Indian, so long as all three of these lures remained features of the unofficial trading post. He could not or would not go on the hunt without advances; he experienced keen human enjoyment in receiving something for nothing; and through his long period of enforced abstinence, while in the woods, he longed for the joys of intoxication, to obtain which indulgence he was willing to make almost any sacrifice. Moreover, the Indian had profound contempt for a government that turned trader. The benevolent spirit behind the project was lost sight of. When the private traders—especially the new and often irresponsible men who at the close of the war rushed into the Indian country—styled the factors "D—d Yankee pedlars", the phrase struck a sympathetic chord in the barbaric mind.

However, these small traders, although numerous, proved much less formidable rivals of the factories than did the local agents of the great fur companies, men who having married native women had acquired a considerable influence and authority with the tribesmen, and had served in the British frontier militia during the war. They had long been domiciled in the territory that is now Wisconsin, from boyhood had been bred to the fur-trade, and knew no other employment. They received their support from commercial corporations whose management was in the hands of a group of American citizens who, having strong influence with the government at Washington, sought to overthrow the factory system, and thereby secure a virtual monopoly of the wilderness trade. These agents were the "foreigners" of whom the factors so bitterly complained in their official reports herein published.

As early as 1816, St. Louis merchants memorialized Congress against the continuance of the factories. In the next year began a series of attacks that ended five years later in the overthrow of the system, and the triumph of the American

Fur Company. It would be tedious to narrate in detail the different strategic steps by which this result was attained; a summary of the process is, however, essential.

The secretary of war and the committee on Indian affairs both recommended to the second session of the Fourteenth Congress an increase of capital for the factories, and the exclusion of aliens from the trade.[3] There resulted an act to continue the system on its existing basis for still another year. The superintendent of Indian trade was Thomas L. McKenney, a man of acknowledged probity and considerable ability. Favoring the system, his efforts doubtless prolonged its life. In an elaborate report to his superiors, McKenney proposed to double the number of factories.[4] His contention was, that it had not adequately been tried. In order, he said, to ascertain whether or not the scheme was futile, it should for a time be operated on a scale more commensurate with the government's resources, and not, with its paltry $300,000 capitalization, merely as a competitor with private concerns.

This document had immediate effect in influencing the Congressional committee charged with investigating the system. On February 16, 1820, the committee had, apparently under the inspiration of the American Fur Company, presented a report declaring the factories "productive of very serious injuries." The document accompanying this report proposed that the federal government should either take the entire trade into its own hands, or let it be surrendered to a single licensed corporation that might be held responsible for abuses. But, apparently converted by McKenney, the committee surprised Congress and the public, on April 5, by squarely reversing their opinion, and reporting "that it is inexpedient to abolish the present system of Indian trade."[5]

Certain philanthropic people in the East now rallied to McKenney's support, taking up cudgels on behalf of the sys-

[3] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, ii, p. 127.
[4] See *post*, pp. 37–41, 66–79.
[5] *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, pp. 201–206.

tem, purely as a benevolent institution. Several missionary societies had recently been formed for educational and religious work among the Indians, and their oft-repeated motto was, "Civilize our Indian population." In response to this sentiment and to obtain a fair and disinterested report of conditions, John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, commissioned a well-known philanthropist and geographer, Rev. Jedediah Morse, to make a tour among the Western tribesmen, and in addition to other observations report on trade conditions. In Dr. Morse's now familiar *Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822), over twenty pages are given to the subject of the Indian trade. His conclusions disturbed the theorists by urging the abrogation of the factory system, alleging against its continuance the undoubted Indian misunderstanding of its purpose, and its failure as a civilizing agency.

Thus public attention was drawn to the fact that antagonism to the factory system was not wholly selfish. Ninian Edwards, Lewis Cass, Thomas Hart Benton, and several other prominent Western statesmen were among its opponents. Possibly their attitude may have been induced by the importunities of influential constituents; nevertheless, it appears in Cass's case at least, to have been strengthened by a genuine conviction of the inutility of the factory—the standpoint, it may be said, of the Western man who knew the situation, as opposed to the philanthropic theories of the Eastern humanitarian.

Encouraged by such support, the American Fur Company were not slow to take advantage of this new situation. The effect of their importunities, backed by Morse's report, was apparent in the Seventeenth Congress, in which Benton was chairman of the Senate committee on Indian affairs and pressed to a conclusion the abolition of the factories.[6]

McKenney, optimistic to the last, wrote in January, 1822, "Yet, I do not think the factory system will be broken up." However, in its defense he now stood almost alone. Investigations proved that neither the Chicago nor the Green Bay fac-

[6] See *post*, p. 240, note 39.

tory was worthy of its purpose, that nearly all of the sales were to whites and civilians; while even the Prairie du Chien factory, which the superintendent had praised, was practically insolvent, and had caused a loss to the government of $12,300, besides harboring $14,504 of bad debts.[7] It is doubtful whether a third of the entire federal investment of $300,000 was ever recovered for the treasury; and the merchandise remaining on hand was of such inferior quality that the officials of the Indian department refused to make gifts of it to the tribesmen in council.[8]

Upon the Indians themselves, the discontinuance of the factories after 1822 appears to have made almost no impression. With one or two tribes it was necessary to adjust certain treaty specifications that provided for the maintenance of public trading houses; but this was easily accomplished, and the government factor disappeared from the Indian country virtually without effect on the condition of the fur-trade itself.

Quite independent of the controversy over the factories, the Wisconsin trade, through the bitterness of rivalry between private traders and companies, had sunk into a parlous condition. The reversal of government policy brought no change in this respect. The American Fur Company having throttled the official factor, now proceeded to push its private rivals to the wall, and only the shrewdest and most unscrupulous of them survived.

The Hudson's Bay Company, the American's great northern competitor, had in 1821 acquired the entire Canadian trade, and its salaried agents controlled the posts, which were supplied from a central warehouse. The American monopoly, however, merely outfitted its traders, charging them the highest market price for goods, and taking over their furs at rates that made due allowance for possible declining values. The sphere of each individual trader's activities being limited they were forced into combinations or partnerships, and the great

[7] *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, p. 517.
[8] *Ibid*, pp. 532–541, and documents *post*.

company took security from them in the form of mortgages on their lands. There was not a year after the close of the War of 1812–15 that the Green Bay traders, for instance, did not suffer a heavy deficit. That the business continued at all, was apparently due to sheer inertia, and the unfitness of the traders for any other form of occupation.

The situation was rendered still more acute in 1824, by a Congressional statute requiring each trader to procure a license establishing him at some designated place. This acted virtually to prohibit the old-time system of *drouine,* or the sending out of runners to secure credits and follow the hunters to their places of chase—a long-familiar and favorite cadet apprenticeship for the sons and nephews of the chief traders. During this period of general demoralization, rivalry was sometimes carried to a cut-throat extreme. Augustin Grignon suffered from an example of this. A fellow trader on the Mississippi appears in the winter of 1821–22 to have utilized his influence with the local Indians to jeopardize Grignon's property and almost his life by burning the latter's winter quarters, and driving him from the locality.

Harassed by competition and regulation of this vicious sort, run over rough-shod by the fur-trade monopoly, despoiled by American soldiers, and worried by over-zealous government officials who expressed lofty contempt for "foreigners", yet unable to attain American citizenship save on conditions deemed degrading, the old Wisconsin traders often sought their ends through unworthy subterfuges. For instance, in 1819–20 the goods for Wisconsin were sent under convoy of two American clerks, both of them useless to the Green Bay partners save as decoys under which the aliens might conduct their accustomed trade.

It is not surprising that, under such conditions, the principal inhabitants of Green Bay at one time contemplated a wholesale removal either to Upper Canada or to the new British colony on Red River, in Manitoba; and proposed taking with them the Menominee tribesmen, with whom they were related

in bonds of consanguinity. By various small accidents this projected hegira was hindered; and by the end of the period with which our present documents are concerned, the old Green Bay and Prairie du Chien families had at last become reconciled to American rule.

The truth is, that this period—closing with the year 1825, when the great treaty at Prairie du Chien had adjusted the boundaries between the tribes, and brought about a temporary peace of the warring rivals—is an interesting interval between the disintegration of an old regime and the inauguration of a new. Broadly viewed, it is plain that the injury to our fur-trade was inevitable, owing to changing economic conditions. Under American domination, it was impracticable for Wisconsin long to remain a game preserve for the redmen, as had been contemplated by both its French and its British owners. The new political masters felt impelled to exploit its resources in the interest of civilization and not of the hunter class. Accustomed to a patriarchal society, the old traders chafed at the innovations that quickly followed American occupation; they found themselves victims of a new social order. Such of the younger generation as became Americanized soon found it essential to abandon the French language and customs, that heretofore had prevailed in this region, and to familiarize themselves with the Anglo-American substitutes therefor. On their shoulders, in large part, fell the task of rebuilding the social and industrial fabric of Wisconsin.

Fittingly, the volume closes with a document admirably illustrating the old regime in the fur-trade, and localized in a quarter of the state whose primitive history is not yet well-known. Michel Curot, trader in 1802–03 on Yellow River, in Burnett County, for the once powerful X Y Company, reveals in his journal the customs and manners that prevailed in forest commerce while the Canadians yet controlled Wisconsin. His matter-of-fact record has thus considerable historical value, but otherwise is not attractive reading. The picture it furnishes

of a fur-trader's daily experience, is crude and sordid, unrelieved by a single incident suggesting Arcadia.

In identifying the topography of the region through which Curot passed, the Editor acknowledges valuable assistance from the Hon. C. D. O'Brien of St. Paul, Joseph Lucius of Solon Springs, John La Rock of Brule, B. F. Peck of Spooner, L. E. Thomas of Shell Lake, C. W. Peaslee of Gordon, Mrs. Charles Kimball and H. H. Hanscom of Birch Lake, and Prof. W. H. Lighty of Madison. Thanks are also due to Prof. George Wagner for identifying the fauna mentioned; to Col. Crawford Lindsay of Quebec for assistance in the interpretation of colloquial French-Canadianisms; and especially to Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, of the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, for furnishing the copy of Curot's unpublished journal which we discovered among the papers in his care. We are indebted to the Missouri Historical Society for the loan of one of the illustrations.

The documents of the major portion of the volume are drawn from two sources—the series of Wisconsin MSS. in the Society's Library, and papers in the federal departments at Washington. The former illustrate the action of the private traders and their local affairs, the latter the working and failure of the factory system and the attempted governmental regulation of the Indian traffic. For several letters of the American Fur Company officials, we are debtor to the valuable private library of Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit.

Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Society's research division has rendered highly competent service in connection with the selection and annotation; and Miss Annie A. Nunns, also of the Society's staff, has assisted in the proof-reading and otherwise in seeing the volume through the press.

R. G. T.

December, 1911

The Fur-Trade in Wisconsin 1812-1825

1812: FACTORY SYSTEM THREATENS BRITISH CONTROL OF INDIANS

[MS. in Canadian Archives. Pressmark: Bathurst Papers, pp. 144–157.[1]]

My Lord—The Importance of their co-operation and the policy of cultivating the good will of the Savages, upon the frontier of the American States, having been so recently, and powerfully exemplified; may I presume to present myself again to y^r^ Lordships attention, for a few moments on that subject. To which I am particularly prompted, by the accounts lately received of the fall of Fort Dearborn, at the foot of Lake Michi-

[1] In *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 375 et seq., we presented a series of documents throwing light on the Wisconsin fur-trade, 1815–17. The present volume being a continuation of that series, should chronologically begin with our second document, commencing p. 12. But subsequent to the publication of volume xix, we discovered in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa the following paper, dated 1812, which should have appeared in that volume. We print it here, out of its chronological order, not only because of its important bearing upon the United States factory system and the later economics of the fur-trade; but for the additional reason that it is peculiarly appropriate as an introduction to volume xx, whose later documents begin with the year 1818, when the factory system was the subject of animated discussion, and when its abolition was near at hand.—Ed.

gan, and Fort Wayne, near the head waters of the Wabash, and Miami rivers.[2]

If that be true, this Country has to congratulate itself upon the termination of one of the most noxious conditions, of the Treaty of Peace which closed the revolutionary war: Inasmuch as the Anglo-Americans may be considered as expelled from the Indian country in that direction and entirely deprived of that command of those waters, by which they were enabled effectually to controul the communication of our traders, with the great western wilderness. How completely it was in their power to do so, I had occular demonstration; having in the course of my wanderings, visited both Fort Wayne, and Fort Dearborn; The latter would have been essentially annoying in that respect; as Those traders when outw[d] bound, to the Country westward of the Mississippi, and up the Missouri, are in the habit of *going* by the Green Bay, and Ouisconsin River; but *return* by the Illinois, and the Chicagou Rivers, (on which last Fort Dearborn stood) into Lake Michigan, and by the Straits of Michilimackinac home. The situation of that Fort, was in my humble opinion, judiciously chosen in various respects; and the scite of it, an invaluable one to the power possessing the maritime superiority of the Lakes. To the Country lower on the Mississippi the passage of the Traders was by the Rivers Miami, and Wabash; of which Fort Wayne, as be-

[2] Fort Dearborn, on the site of the city of Chicago, was evacuated August 15, 1812, by Maj. Nathan Heald, commandant in charge, under orders from Brigadier-General Hull at Detroit. As Heald and his garrison were retreating along the shore of the lake, they were attacked by a large body of Indians acting in the British interest; over fifty were massacred and the remainder made prisoners. Captain and Mrs. Heald were eventually taken to Mackinac, where the British officer, Capt. Charles Roberts, released the unfortunate American on parole. See Heald's diary in Draper MSS., 17U33–35. A commemoration of the massacre at Fort Dearborn was held in Chicago, August 15, 1912. Fort Wayne was not captured, as is stated farther on in this same document.—Ed.

ing between the head waters of those streams, was considered as one of the keys, the other being Fort Massac.[3]

That a consequence so deeply injurious to the United States, as their expulsion from such an immense tract of the Indian Country, should have resulted almost instantaneously as it were, from the infatuated measures of their Executive; must not only have exceeded the expectation, it can hardly have been within the contemplation of our most sanguine friends.

But this success on our part, great as it is, will be found I apprehend to have engendered some serious perplexities, and to have interposed a new and very powerfull obstacle, to the adjustment of differences: Namely the settlement of another Indian boundary; as I take it for granted, all previous arrangements on that head, will be considered by the Savages at least, as dissolved; and our assistance on that point, they will undoubtedly require. It will not I dare say, again happen, that they will have to accuse us (and as perhaps there were but too much grounds) that after having excited them to lift the hatchet as they call it, we left them after all to fix the boundary line upon the last occasion, how and where they could. There will probably be found some persons in this country, averse to any attempt on our part, to enforce an Indian claim of any sort; but recent occurrences have surely shewn, that those people are highly essential to our security in the Canadas, and that unless we are prepared to relinquish those provinces, we must in some instances make their cause our own. In the present case the Indians, incontestibly made war on our account, and not for themselves. Neither is the question of boundary, a concern between them and the Americans only. It is now more than ever, a matter especially interesting to this nation.

For the active part which the Indians have now taken in our favor, we may also anticipate a claim of compensation, for the Annuities which they were receiving from the U. States. That to the Patawatamics, was, if I recollect aright, to a very

[3] For a history of this post see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 210, note 62.—Ed.

large amount. They may also be expected to require somewhat in satisfaction for the U. States Trading Houses, at Fort Wayne, and Chicagou, which they have destroyed, but from whence they were used to be supplied with the necessary articles in exchange for their Furs etc., on very advantageous terms; as those being Government Stores, no further advance was required upon the goods, than would defray the cost to charges; and were consequently sold at a much cheaper rate, than any individual trader would, or could afford. This System originated with President Washington;[4] and has been ever since, working silently but not unsuccessfully, against us; in a limited degree only as yet it is true; thanks to the pitifull policy of their late Congressmen, who have uniformily refused to vote the sums requisite for the plan, on its intended scale. At each of these trading places, there was also erected a Smith's Shop, and an armourer maintained at the public expense; by whom all the Indians were at liberty to have their Guns and other implements when damaged, repaired gratis. This politic arrangement was working powerfully against us, by comparison; as there was nothing of that sort to be shewn on the side of the Canadas, and those Indians who had become accustomed to the benefits of those establishments, will miss them greatly. They will be very unwilling to part with the produce of their hunt, upon the terms of the Canadian Trader, after having been used to better bargains; and they will find, that by the destruction of the U. States Trading houses, they have made a substantial sacrifice of their own comforts. Whenever they come to discover this, they will not be apt to undervalue it, nor backward in asking to be remunerated and the Americans we may rely, will lose no time in asking them, what they have to shew for the advantages which they derived from their trading establishments, and which they themselves had destroyed.

Of all the projects of Gen[l] Washington, after effecting the seperation of those Colonies from the mother country; I ap-

[4] *Note on original manuscript:* **See the Extract from his Address to** Congress hereto annexed.

prehend this of the Trading houses, best calculated to undermine the influence of Great Britain, with the Indians. It was an appeal to their strongest feelings thro' the medium of their interest, and comprehensible by the simplest savage. He had only to present a portion of his furs etc. for barter to the Canadian Traders, and the like at the States Trading House, and the advantages of dealing with the latter were too palpable to be overlooked. Nor was he left to conjecture how so great a difference in his favor happened; The Agents of that Government, take good care to impress his mind with the idea, that it is the effect of the endeavors of the Americans to shield them from British impositions; and the Indian sees too much cause to be satisfied with the benefits he receives, to trouble himself with investigating the motives which may have influenced the U. States. I beg to be understood as by no means intending of myself to insinuate anything unfair on the part of the Canadians in their traffic with the Indians. They were at great disadvantages, by the Government of the U. States, coming into the Market against them; the goods purchased by them for that purpose, were always bought with Cash, and oftentimes at Auction; in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, for a mere song; according as the necessities of the Importer might offer them; so that the original Indian Trader stood no chance, wherever these establishments were situated. It may perhaps be said, if these Government trading houses, were so notoriously beneficial to the Indians, how did it happen, that they destroyed them? I attribute it in the first place to the improvidence and rapacity inherent in the Savage, to whom the idea of immediate possession of those stores was irresistable. In the next place, I consider it very probable, that latterly the supplies at those houses, became deficient; for it is to be observed, that the articles are almost without exception of british manufacture; but which their Embargo, Non-importation, and Non-intercourse laws, all preceding in close order the Declaration of War, must have rendered it difficult, even for them, to procure the requisite quantities; and with all their boasted manufacturing abilities, I defy them to supply that deficiency from their own work shops.

To discourse even of Indian hostilities, is by some persons my Lord considered as advocating them; but I trust your Lordship will by no means be inclined to contemplate these observations in that point of view; far be it from me. I do most earnestly wish the warfare of those people could be divested of those horrors, which have from time immemorial, been attendant upon all their military expeditions, when unchecked by the presence of Englishmen as their allies. What a dreadfull comment upon that part of Gen[l] Hulls Proclamation[5] whereby he denounced death to every white Man found fighting with the Indians against him; is the Massacre of the Troops from Fort Dearborn, on their retreat to Fort Wayne; had there been but ever so small a British force in company, I have no doubt it would have been prevented.

I do believe it is possible, so to direct the impetuosity of the Indian, as to deter the operations of his fury, and to make him at the same time the more serviceable ally. But at War the Youthfull Savage must occasionally be; (It is perhaps the only point on which their Old Men cannot at all times persuade.) He resorts to war as to a pastime. Inactivity in him excites the restlessness of disease, and he loaths even the leisure, which the Season that suspends his hunt affords. I therefore felt assured that Gen[l]. Hull would find himself deceived, when he calculated upon their remaining passive, after hostilities were once began; and as the Gov[t] of the U. States, could not but know, that the defence of Canada unavoidably involved the employment of that species of force, that are solely responsible for all the calamities which may from thence ensue.

The long threatened attack on Canada by the Americans, has at length taken place; it has most happily terminated; and I

---

[5] Gen. William Hull, commander at Detroit, was much condemned by British authorities for the threat here mentioned in his proclamation to the Canadian habitants, July 12, 1812. The original may be found in John Brannan, *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States during the War with Great Britain* (Washington, 1823), pp. 30, 31.—Ed.

earnestly hope that one of the consequences of their defeat will be, that the Indians may be prevailed on never again to assign to the U. States, select spots of their Land, without the Boundary line, and in the heart of the Indian Country.

This in fact my Lord, is the main object of this lengthy communication; as from what I saw and heard of the Country to the Southward of Green Bay, and Ouisconsin River, as far as the course of the Rivers Miami and Wabash; bounded on the West, by the Mississippi, and on the East, by the Waters of Detroit, St Clair, and Huron; it would be, in my feeble judgment, if occupied exclusively by the Indians, an all important barrier to the designs of the U. States against the influence, and intercourse of the British, with the immense regions extending Westerly even to the Pacific Ocean. It is besides a portion of their lands, to which the Indians have viewed the approach of the Americans, with unsleeping jealousy; nor have they ever been fairly reconciled, to the erection of Fort Dearborn.[6]

This would have been earlier presented to Your Lordship, but that I have been severely indisposed. The delay however, has enabled me to observe by Extracts from the American News Papers, that Fort Wayne was still in their possession. But as that Garrison, was on the extreme Southern edge of the District which I have just above designated; the foregoing remarks are not materially affected thereby.

By the Extracts of those Papers, furnished by the last Hali-

[6] The original documents conflict in regard to the attitude of the Indians at the time of the founding of Fort Dearborn in 1803. The lieutenant who conducted the troops reported that the Indians were friendly; while a contemporaneous letter from Mackinac relates that the neighboring Indians were much opposed to the erection of the fort. See article by Milo M. Quaife, in Chicago *Record-Herald*, Aug. 11, 1912. The probable truth is, that overawed by the show of force, the natives appeared to be friendly, but secretly were hostile and opposed to a fort in their territory. See also Anderson's "Narrative" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 154, 155.—Ed.

fax Mail; it also appears, that Gen[l] Wells[7] had made an incursion in the Indian Country, with a large body of mounted Militia, and destroyed some of their villages.[8] This Gen[l] Wells I have no doubt, is the half brother of the unfortunate Cap[t] Wells, who was massacred with the garrison from Chicagou.[9]

---

[7] Gen. Samuel Wells, born in northwest Virginia, emigrated about 1779 to Kentucky and settled in Jefferson County not far from Louisville. He was a bold, daring youth, and in 1781 rescued Col. John Floyd from the Indians, and is said to have been on Clark's campaigns of 1780, 1782, and 1786. A noted Indian fighter, his grandson claimed that he was in thirty-two skirmishes and battles (Draper MSS., 23S58). He was out with Wayne in 1793 as major of the Kentucky mounted volunteers; and in 1811 led the riflemen at the battle of Tippecanoe, in which he distinguished himself. At the outbreak of the War of 1812–15, Wells was made colonel in the regular army and aided Harrison in the relief of Fort Wayne. The next year he was with Winchester at the defeat of the River Raisin, when he was accompanied by three sons, of whom one was never heard from after the battle. In 1814 Wells was honorably discharged from the army and soon thereafter removed to Missouri, where he died in St. Charles County. His daughter Rebecca was wife of Capt. Nathan Heald, commandant of Fort Dearborn.—Ed.

[8] This refers to Wells's raid on the Potawatomi towns after the relief of Fort Wayne. General Harrison sent Colonel Wells about Sept. 13 to destroy the village of Onoxa (or Five Medals), principal chief of the above-mentioned tribe, whose seat was on Elkhart River, in the Indiana county of that name. Wells found the tribesmen gone, and their village destroyed. His troops cut down the standing corn and ravaged the country for some distance. He accomplished the march of sixty miles and return, in four days. See report made by Harrison, in Draper MSS., 2X56.—Ed.

[9] When a boy about nine years of age, William Wells was captured in Jefferson County, Ky., by a band of Miami Indians. On being taken to their towns he was adopted by the chief, Little Turtle, and grew up an Indian in feeling and intent, married a daughter of the chief, and served in the Indian army against Harmar and St. Clair. Meanwhile, his relatives in Kentucky sought him, and finally became convinced that they had discovered in him their lost brother. After several visits to his white relatives, he abandoned the Indians and entered the American army as a spy and ranger under Wayne. During this

He is an active, intelligent Man, an excellent Woodsman, and an old antagonist of the tribes, as having been among the first settlers in Kentucky. The appearance of the mounted troops, will appall the Indians for the time very much; as their great defeat by Gen[l] Wayne near the Rapids of the Miami, was almost entirely the work of his cavalry.[10] It left an impression of lasting dread upon their minds, and they have ever since denominated the Ameri[ns] "The Long Knives"; in allusion to the terrible effects of their broad swords.[11] Perhaps one of the greatest services that we could render our Indian ally, would be to instruct them, how best to elude or parry the attacks of Cavalry. The Indians themselves of those parts are fearless riders, and their horses active and hardy. They are therefore I should suppose, capable of being made a much more formidable enemy, than the Americans have ever yet found them to be.

---

service he had many adventures. Once he was wounded; and once he ambushed Little Turtle and his own family, but discovered their identity in time to save them from harm. After the Treaty of Greenville (1795), he accompanied the Miami chief on a visit to Philadelphia, where he was received with distinguished honor. Wells settled at Fort Wayne and received his Indian family again as his own. There he was made Indian agent, and there his niece Rebecca was visiting him when she met the young officer, Nathan Heald, whom she afterwards married. When Captain Wells learned, in the summer of 1812, of the great danger to which the frontier post of Fort Dearborn was exposed, he determined to go to the assistance of the garrison and of his favorite niece. Taking an escort of Miami Indians he arrived at the fort two days before its evacuation. His knowledge of Indian character and temper made him certain of the impending danger, and upon leaving the fort he blackened his face (an Indian sign of approaching death), and exhorted his niece to meet her fate with courage. He died fighting bravely, and his Indian assailants cut out his heart and ate it, to inspire their own hearts with like bravery. Mrs. Heald's account of his death was related in 1868 to Dr. Draper by her son Darius; see Draper MSS., 23S1–10.—Ed.

[10] The writer here refers to the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, on the Maumee River.—Ed.

[11] The term was in use much earlier than at the time of Wayne's battle. On its origin see R. G. Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (N. Y., 1902), p. 111.—Ed.

The calls of the U. States upon their Horse Militia, have ever been much more promptly attended to, than by the Infantry. The reason is, that the Americans are unaccustomed, and averse to making journies of any distance, on foot; so much so, that it is proverbially said of the Virginians, that they will at any time run a mile to catch a horse for the sake of riding half a mile afterwards.

The alacrity with which the horse volunteers stept forward upon the occasion; was undoubtedly the principal means of quelling the whiskey insurrection as it was called, in the back parts of Pennsylvania 1794; at which time, M^r^ Gallatin was Secretary to one of the Committees of resistance, to the payment of the Duties on private stills. And I have been assured, in a manner that leaves me no room to doubt of the fact, that M^r^ G. since he became Secretary of the Treasury of the U. States, has had more than one Warrant to sign in that capacity, for the paym^t^ of expenses incurred by the States, on account of the opposition to a known public law, and in which he was himself so conspicuous an agent. If this anecdote was not previously known to your Lordship, it may perhaps amuse.

The Americans will be sure to press the Indians with their Horse, in all quarters; knowing their extreme dread of them; and it will perhaps be found difficult to induce them to make head against them, untill their vulnerability be shewn, by an actual defeat of them by British Horse. That part of the Country, abounds with immense natural meadows, extending sometimes as far as the eye can reach; wonderfully productive as to grass, some of which I have passed through that reached to my elbows, when on horseback. This is annually burnt by the Indians to unhouse their game; and the grounds are then said to be remarkably favorable to Cavalry movements.

I beg leave only to detain your Lordship whilst I make a few remarks, upon one other point; and which your Lordship may possibly deem not least deserving of attention.

The appointment of Canadians, not hitherto of military character, as Officers to several of the Indian tribes, as an-

nounced by the Quebec News Papers, will I have no doubt tend very materially to render the co-operation of those Indians, infinitely more effective, than they have hitherto been. But I apprehend the arrangement is fraught with great future evil. I will with permission account to your Lordship for my fears. When I was in the Indian country, I spoke the french language with tolerable fluency. This infallible recommendation to a frenchman and his decendants from generation to generation, facilitated greatly my enquiries, and called forth many remarks, which had not otherways fallen within my notice. In the conversations I was thus enabled to hold, with the various Canadians whom I occasionally met with; I was forcibly struck with the heart felt interest, which they uniformly exhibited, in every thing which had any relation, to Old France; and many things, concurred, to produce a conviction on my mind, that the reannexation of the Canadas to France, was an idea in which they delighted to indulge. The expansion of this Sentiment my Lord, is the mischief to which I have just before alluded. I have heard the number of Canadians, distributed by y^e^ British traders in all parts of N^th^ W^tn^ America, amongst almost every Tribe, and some one or other of them, acquainted with every language which is spoken there; estimated as high as Six Thousand; every individual of which, I am prone to consider, as an Anchor of Hope to France, of the eventual restoration of the Canadas: Because I believe them, poor, ignorant, and wanderers, as the great majority of them are; as entirely frenchmen in their hearts, as if actually born in Paris. I do not imagine, that they will ever be found unanimous in subjecting that Country to the U. States. But the dearth of experienced, and *real* Military characters, in the Service of the U. States, is so notorious, that it has long been evident, if hostilities are to be persisted in with this Country, that the Americans must procure their Chief military leaders from abroad. That would be, of course from France. And the approximation of a French Commander with any thing like an imposing force, to the borders of Canada, would be I fear an irresistible magnet, to every

Canadian that could possibly make his way to him. If so inclined, their influence with the Indians being all powerfull; because they assimilate themselves so readily to their manners and customs and are conversible in their own tongue; they might then I apprehend with little danger of detection effect the most fatal arrangements in conjunction with the enemy.

I have been insensibly led on My Lord, to a very much greater length, than I had expected, or intended; but I preferred risquing to fatigue Y^r Lordship with my prolixity, than to leave anything unsaid, whilst I thought it possible for me to throw any light upon the subject; and I will still hope, that Y^r Lordship may meet with some few observations at least, sufficiently interesting, to induce Y^r Lordship to pardon the wearisomeness of the whole.

I hasten to Subscribe myself with all due deference and Respect Your Lordships Most Obedient & Very Humble Serv^t.

T. Tackle.

8 Charles Street, Queens Elm, Chelsea, 24th Novem^r 1812.

The Right Honble Earl Bathurst.

1818: BRITISH TRADERS VERSUS FACTORY SYSTEM

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 95.]

Office Indian Trade, 6th. January, 1818.

To The Honbe. Henry Southard[1]

Sir—In the course of my Superintendence of the trade established with the several Indian Tribes, it has become part of my duty to take cognizance of such checks as are known to operate against it. Among these, and foremost in this train, is the conduct of private traders, than which it is impossible to conceive any thing more obnoxious, if viewed in relation to the

[1] Henry Southard was a member of Congress from New Jersey. As chairman of a select committee on Indian affairs, he reported Jan. 22, 1818, a bill to establish additional trading houses for the Indians.—Ed.

morals of the Indians; or more destructive of that pacific result which the U. S. factories are or may be calculated to produce. These traders, many of them are British; and are known as having been hostile during our late War, and revengevull in the extreme in exciting the Indians to acts of cruelty. 'About Green Bay and Prairie d' Chien, at both which places we have factories, these characters abound and most of them act under Licences given them by the U. S. agent at Mackinac. I do not refer to this agency with any other view than to point out a main source of this evil, for he (the agent) may feel himself bound under the loosse provisions of the law, to grant licences to such as apply for them nor think himself at liberty to refuse the applicant—his discretion it should seem might have come in, to bar notorious offenders; and no appeal of theirs could have injured him. He seems however to have been governed by the looseness of the provisions of the law, and a looseness in a law which could warrant such licencies, certainly may be supposed to need amendment. Unless this point be well, and securely managed the U. S. trade must, from necessity be trammeled and unproductive; and in that proportion in which it may be omitted; and the Indians suffer a correspondent destruction by the arts, and wiles, of these cunning and avaricious adventurers.

At this moment the difficulty in obtaining *Interpreters* is well nigh insurmountable, both at Green Bay and P. du. Chien by the management of these traders, who, as I am creditably informed keep them in pay, *constantly,* to deprive the American agents of their services. But this is not all—did they not debauch the Indians, and thereby render them incapable of thinking for themselves, our fair trading might overcome them, they find it to their interest however to stop up this source whence advantage might be drawn, and not only deprive these poor fellows of the power of thinking, but of acting also—unless it be in their moments of desperation, when, not infrequently, our own Citizens pay for the consequence with their lives. It is admitted, I believe, on all hands, that but for these traders, less excitements and fewer wars would exist in the Indian

Country. I do respectfully recommend that the privilege to licence, if it be continued at all (and I hope it may not) be placed exclusively in the agency of the Governors of the several territories, and that the law be so phrased as to leave optional with the said Governors to grant a licence or refuse it.[2] They being the sole judges of their reasons for doing so. At present no option exists. The most profligate and abandoned have an equal right to demand a licence with the upwright and virtuous. on this point Governor Edwards[3] writes thus:—"The law with regard to granting licences, I also think is very defective, any person who tenders a bond with sufficient security, conditioned for the faithfull observance of such regulations and restrictions, as are or shall be made for the Government of trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes, is entitled to demand a licence as a matter of right. The regulations and restrictions at present prescribed amount to little more if any thing than a prohibition to purchase certain articles of the Indians—and while the most detestable and unprincipled wretches are at no loss to obtain the requisite security; they may practise conduct the most offensive to the Indians, immoral towards other traders and injurious to the general interest of the Government; without any breach of their bonds; or without subjecting themselves to the revocation of their licences; or to the legal refusal of new ones." In proportion as these venders of goods may be deprived of their privelege will there exist (as the Committee will perceive) a necessity, in order that the wants of the Indians be supplied, to extend our trade, this embraces the Idea of an encrease of the means to do so. and here I cannot withhold the expression of a thought on the subject of appropriations for carrying on trade with the Indians. Many persons look upon it as so much money thrown away and never again to find its way into the treasury. But I certainly cannot

---

[2] *Note on original MS:* Subsequent thinking has satisfied me that all licences should issue from the P. U. S. [President of the United States.]

[3] For Gov. Ninian Edwards of Illinois, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 395, note 43.—Ed.

see it in any other light than as *a loan*—the return of which may be had whenever the Government may choose to order it. I see no reason why it may not be looked upon, independently of its operations in serving destitute human beings upon fair principles—as a loan *upon Interest.* for wars only excepted, the trade (if untrammeled by a dismissal of obnoxious private traders,) might be made and not improperly either a source of revenue. Whilst Peltries and Furs are articles of Commerce the trade may reasonably be calculated on as a productive business—even now its aspect would be better, but the design of the government has been to have the trade so managed as that its original capital only should be preserved. Hence, the idea of gain has been swallowed up, and it is liberal that it should remain so. But for losses and suspensions during the war, however, I am confident it would have been in advance of its present state, considerably.

Any money therefore which the Congress may think proper to vest in Indian supplies, may be counted upon as so much deposited in a safe place, liable to as few accidents as investments of any other des[c]ription, and promising an encrease.

I shall be pardoned, I hope, for thus *voluntarily* troubleing the Committee, I am happy in beleiving the members are friendly to the great cause of humanity and especially as it applies to our Indians, and therefore I have felt justified in presenting the Committee with this view of a cause which wars most successfully against humanity; as well as against the U. S. policy towards our Indians.

I beg leave to trouble the Committee with copies of two letters one of 19 March and the other of May 6, which I had the honor to address to the then Acting Secretary of War, one of them contains an extract from a letter which I received from Mr. Johnson of P. du. Chien,[4] and hope to be excused for such

[4] For the first of these letters see *Ibid*, p. 452. The tenor of the other may be inferred from McKenney's reply to Johnson in *Ibid*, p. 459. For a sketch of the factor John W. Johnson, consult *Ibid*, pp. 383, 384, note 34.—Ed.

additional remarks as I have made respecting the encrease of the trade; and which are very partially made as this happened to occur. My principle object in troubleing the Committee was to present to its view some inspection of the injury done both to the Indians and our Factories by private Traders. I am etc. etc. etc.,

T. L. McK[enney][5]

P. S. I beg leave respectfully to present the enclosed letter from John Jamieson Indian agent to Col. R. M. Johnson to the Committee on Indian affairs.

T. L. McK.

1818: EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Book 203, Letter Book 2, p. 247.]

Detroit January 22d. 1818

Sir—The president has determined, that the trade of foreigners with the Indians living in the United States shall cease.

You will therefore issue no licence to any foreigner to trade with the Indians, nor permit an american Citizen licenced to trade to take with him or to send into the Indian Country any foreigner. The prohibition to be effectual must be universal, and their entrance into the Country either as principals or as engagees must be wholly checked. The President not thinking proper to exercise the discretion, with which he is vested by the act of Congress entitled "An act supplementary to the act passed the Thirtieth of March, One thousand Eight hundred and two, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and to preserve peace on the Frontiers" passed April 29th, 1816, the provisions of that act will regulate the exclusion of foreigners and your own duties respecting it. On a cursory examination of your letter of July 22d. 1817, I understood the

---

[5] This official is noted in *Ibid*, p. 434, note 67.—Ed.

prohibition in relation to Spirituous liquors to extend only to their introduction into the Indian Country, and in the spirit of that understanding, I gave it my unqualified approbation. But since then I have reason to believe I misunderstood you, and that your prohibition extended not only to the Indians but to the landing of Spirits in the settlement and to their sale to the people inhabiting it.[6]

If this be correct, I doubt whether the exclusion can be justified. Although there is no treaty or law which extinguish the Indian title in the vicinity of Green Bay, yet considering the nature of the settlement, the period of its duration and the stipulations in Jay's treaty, I think the same priviledges enjoyed by the other Citizens of the United States should be extended to them. The total exclusion of Spirituous liquors from the Indian Country is altogether proper. But I think the sale of such liquors to the Inhabitants of the Country ought not to be wholly prohibited, but only limited or guarded in such manner as to prevent their subsequent transfer to the Indians.

If there remain in the public store, and subject to your authority any spirituous liquors thus situated, I recommend their restoration to the owner.

I transmit you the last papers, which I trust will afford you amusement. Very respectfully Sir, I am your Ob. Serv.

[Lewis Cass]

Colo. John Bowyer Indian Agent Green Bay.

1818: AMERICAN FUR COMPANY UNJUSTLY TREATED

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 269.]

New York January 24th. 1818

John Jacob Astor Esqr.

Dear Sir—In order that you may be able to present to the executive of the United States, a correct view of the existing state of the trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes in

---

[6] For Bowyer's action in this matter see *Ibid*, p. 487; a sketch of his life is given on p. 391, note 40.—Ed.

the Country between the great Lakes and the Missouri River; we shall with all the brevity such a subject admits of, give you an account, founded on facts which can be proven by indisputable evidence, and pledge ourselves to substantiate if necessary in a reasonable time, every thing we advance in this Communication.

To understand the subject correctly it will be necessary to recur to the year 1816, When the orders from the War Department of 10th. May became ostensibly the Foundation of the System followed by the Ind: Agents on the Lakes, for the last two years, though more particularly the basis of that course pursued by Major William Henry Puthuff during that period.[7]

On the arrival at Michillimackinac of the first traders from the interior in June 1816, Major Puthuff seized their boats and whatever property he found in their possession, for a breach of the law requiring every trader to obtain licence previous to entering the Indian Country. It was soon afterwards understood that the informer in such cases, would be entitled to half the seizure; and no one who approached subsequently, could get within many miles of the Island, before he was captured by a detachment from the Garrison, generally sent out by Colo. Chambers[8] to watch the customary route of the Boats from Green Bay; indeed so far was this *laudable* zeal carried, that one party went no less than Seventy five Miles from Mackinac, to secure their *fortunes* by the Capture of some traders known to be on the way, as experience had shown, that competition ran too high, for the business to be profitable in the Vicinity of the Island. Soon after this, the orders above alluded to, were received, and rescued from certain ruin a number of men, who had violated the provisions of an act, they did not know had existed.

The Major then called on all within his reach, who had enterred the Indian Country with their goods prior to the pass-

[7] For this agent and the course he pursued in 1816, see *Ibid*, pp. 407–424.—Ed.

[8] A note on Colonel Chambers is in *Ibid*, p. 420, note 60.—Ed.

ing of the law of 19th. April 1816, to take out licence in conformity to Mr. Secretary Crawfords Letter of 10th. May, and thereby be exempted from the penalties they had incurred. The traders relieved by this regulation from the fear of losing their little all, promptly obeyed this notification; but never did we learn that he issued a single licence to this effect without charging and *receiving Fifty Dollars* for each of the same: and instances are not wanting where he had the Craftiness to make the Trader pay at this rate for *several* where *one only* was in reality necessary, and even in some cases where *none* was required by the Orders of the War department:[9]

* * * * * * * *

Early in July 1816 Mr Crooks as Agent for the American Interest in the South West Company arrived at Michillimackinac, and was informed by Mr. Rocheblave,[10] then Acting Agent for the Canadian Portion of the concern, that for some time previous, he had been ready to transact the Companys business with the traders from the interior, but owing to the prohibitory system adopted by the Agent for Indian affairs at that place, in regard to foreigners, no one of them would risk a dollar's worth of Goods in the trade. Mr. Crooks lost no time in waiting on Major Puthuff, by whom he was told that on no consideration would he suffer an alien to trade in any part of the Country bordering on lake Michigan, nor on the streams falling into that lake, or the Mississippi River, below prairie du Chien; and to the district *above* that post and *across* to the Waters of Lake Superior, would he admit them *only* on the Express condition, that should an American trader be at the spot where they propose Wintering, when they reached it, they were not to open or expose their Goods for sale; or if a Citizen arrived after they

[9] The omitted portion deals with two cases where licenses were paid for at an exorbitant rate; neither of these was for the Wisconsin trade.—Ed.

[10] For the origin of the South West Company see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 291, 337, notes 17 and 77 respectively. The career of Pierre Rocheblave is given *Ibid*, p. 366, note 14; that of Ramsay Crooks, p. 347, note 91.—Ed.

were established for the Winter, they were instantly to desist from any further trade with the natives—adding at the same time, that untill Commanded to do so by his superiors, he would adhere to the course he was then pursuing—a second interview terminating equally unsatisfactorily with the first, he was notified that redress would be sought at Detroit, and a request was added that Gov. Cass might be by himself made acquainted with the stand he had taken, and his reasons therefore. He accordingly wrote his Excellency.[11] Mr. Crooks repaired to Detroit, and the Govr. directed a rational construction of the orders then recently received from the Department of War; by which he was compelled to admit the traders of fair Character, into those portions of the Indian Territory, not usually visited by American Citizens.[12] Finding it most prudent to comply quietly with the orders of Gov Cass, he next insisted that each person obtaining a licence should for it pay him *Fifty* Dollars, and so scrupulously did he follow up his system in regard to the back licences, that this sum was not levied on the *whole* adventure of any one man, but must be paid for every Subdivision of the Outfit—what sum of Money he amassed in this very questionable manner you will find correctly stated in the Communication made you by Mr. Varnum[13] last Spring; but least that should not be at hand, we are positive of being within the mark, when we say his exactions amounted to upwards of *Two thousand* dollars.

It had been a matter of surprize why the total exclusion of Foreigners from Lake Michigan, and the Rivers tributary to the Mississippi, should have been insisted on so very particularly by Major Puthuff: but no sooner had he began to square his Official Conduct by the Instructions of the Governor, than he avowed that the reservations in question were intended for the benefit of men who were well known to be at that time his most intimate friends.

---

[11] See this letter in *Ibid*, pp. 425–427.—Ed.

[12] Given in *Ibid*, pp. 427, 428.—Ed.

[13] A sketch of Joseph B. Varnum Jr. is in *Ibid*, p. 326, note 69.—Ed.

Galled at being foiled in his project for the division of the Country among his favorites, and not satisfied with the product of his income tax; his memory became quite treacherous to his duty; and notwithstanding he was specially instructed to notify the Officers Comdg. Frontier Posts etc. etc. of every licence he issued under the existing regulations, yet he quite forgot this very essential part of the business; and but for the presence of Mr. Crooks, who possessed the documents necessary to satisfy the doubts of Major Morgan,[14] not a trader would have been permitted to pass Prairie du Chien that season. Thus ended the Summer of 1816.

The first thing we learned on arriving at Mackinaw last June, was the injury our outfits had sustained at Sagina Bay on Lake Huron, and at Grand River, of Lake Michigan; from the clandestine introduction of Spirituous liquors; at the first place, by Jacob Smith from Detroit; and at the latter, by Mrs. Laframboise (a half breed) from Mackinaw.[15] These acts were made known to Major Puthoff, and evidence offered in support; but we are not aware that he ever took the trouble to investigate their merits: and indeed it ought hardly to have been expected that the Agent who was himself the first to brake the law prohibiting the introduction of this pernicious liquid, should show much, *if any zeal* in the detection of other Violators. Strange as it may appear, it is no less true that Maj. Puthuff sent an Indian Woman (who is now at Mackinaw) in the fall of 1816, to the Ottawas Village at L'arbre Croche, on the straits of Michigan, with Spirits to trade for Corn; which she accomplished, and actually returned him the proceeds of the traffic. The only reason he gave for this extraordinary proceeding, was, that the Indian Department wanted Corn and Corn *must* be obtained.

The next occurrance Was the refusal of both Govrs. Clark and Edwards, to permit our Clerk Lagotherie to proceed from

---

[14] Maj. Willoughby Morgan, stationed at Prairie du Chien; see *Ibid*, p. 479, note 4.—Ed.

[15] See *Ibid*, p. 109, note 48.—Ed.

the Miss[iss]ippi to Michillimackinac, by the accustomed route.[16]

No permission to *trade* was either asked, or expected, and surely there could not have been any *good* grounds to prevent *his* bringing us back *our* property when the permission wished for, was granted to Jacque Porlier, and Joseph Laperche, (alias St. Jean) men who were precisely in the same situation.[17] Tis true the passports just mentioned were issued By Brig: General Smith,[18] but we must suppose with the approbation of the two Governors, since their opposition to our man deprived him of a Similar Indulgence. It may probably be urged in defence of such marked partiality, that Lagotherie had during the late War been guilty of *enormities* on the frontiers, and therefore too dangerous a person to be trusted in the Indian Country: but if these gentlemen really believed the numerous reports circulated to the prejudice of this man, what must we think of them, either as Citizens, or public Officers, where they suffered him to reside openly in both territories; to appear more than once in their Offices, and had him completely in their power for several Weeks in the fall of 1816 and Spring 1817; without once arresting, or even disturbing him personally: though to our knowledge they were several times *dared* to the test. That they *in fact* attached *no* Credit to the accusations against this person, there Cannot exist a doubt; for soon after, on condition of his acting as Interpreter to a Mr. Campbell (formerly a Major in the U. S. Infantry, and the bosom friend of Governor Clark)[19] then setting out on a trading Voyage up the Mis-

---

[16] Lagotherie is noted in *Ibid*, p. 446, note 75.—Ed.

[17] For Porlier consult *Id*, xviii, p. 462; for Laperche *dit* St. Jean, xix, p. 477, note 1.—Ed.

[18] Gen. Thomas A. Smith, who built the Prairie du Chien fort; see *Ibid*, p. 424, note 62.—Ed.

[19] Probably Lieut. John Campbell of Virginia, who enlisted in 1808. In 1814 he commanded the expedition to provision Fort Shelby, that was defeated near Rock Island, Ill. After the war he was brevetted major, settled near Louisianaville, Mo., and for a time engaged in Indian trade. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 220.—Ed.

sissippi, this suspected and dangerous character, was *readily* permitted to proceed by that route to Mackinaw: though through the very Country where he Committed the many barbarous acts with which they found it convenient to charge him. As a matter of course our property was left at St. Louis. Viewing in the most favourable light conduct of both the Governors throughout this inconsistant transaction; we are compelled to attribute the course they pursued to that hostility, which, by their own confession they cherish against every man interested in the Commerce of Mackinac and particularly those in any manner connected *with you* in that trade. In order is the wanton and unprovoked attack made on our Outfits in the Country between Lake Superior, and the Mississippi in the fall of 1816 by the known servants of the Hudson Bay Company; who were then acting under the *immediate* Orders of the Earl of Selkirk.[20] Mr. Morrison's[21] letter of 19th. July 1817 to Major William Henry Puthuff at Michillimackinac, furnishes so complete a detail of this villainous outrage, that nothing can be said here to shed new light on that infamous Conspiracy—should you not have in your possession a Copy of the Communication alluded to, It may be found in the Department of War; as it was transmitted from Detroit by Governor Cass sometime ago. We now must proceed to notice an occurrence which for the honor of America, We most sincerely wish had never happened—namely, the forcible seizure and transportation from Fort Armstrong at Rock River, on the Mississippi, to the town of St. Louis, of Russel Farnham and Daniel Darling, Gentlemen in the employ of the American Fur Company; and both native born Citizens of the United States. The circumstances attending this unparalleled stretch of power, are amply set forth in Mr. Farnhams letter to us dated at St. Louis 17th. Oct

[20] Referring to Selkirk's seizure of Fort William, and his subsequent sequestration of outfits in the interior; see George Bryce, *Manitoba* (London, 1882); a sketch of Selkirk is given in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 462, note 86.—Ed.

[21] William Morrison was one of the company's traders; see *Ibid*, p. 474, note 95.—Ed.

1817; and we shall only add, that we have every reason to believe, the extreme severity exercised towards our people by Colo. Talbert Chambers of the Rifle Regiment and Mr. Benjamin O'Fallen Nephew to Gov. Clark, and Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, in the instance;[22] on authority altogether *assumed,* was the result of premeditation, and not the effect of their feelings at that moment. For three Boats belonging to Berthelot and Rolette, and two, principally owned by Jacob Franks,[23] all of Michillimackinac, and openly professing to be british subjects, having Americans as the nominal traders, but with Clerks and Crews of the very same discription as those under the direction of Farnham and darling, were allowed to proceed uninterrupted to their several destinations; while ours, with every qualification which *ought* in any degree to have protected the others, and the additional One, of the *whole* property being bona fide American, were thus unjustifiably harrassed. We derived this information from a Gentleman who was an eye Witness, and to whom we feel much indebted for preventing through his interest with Major Morgan, our people from being put in Irons, when sent to St. Louis, in charge of Lt. Blair: for Morgan was strongly inclined to obey the order of Chambers literally, which directed him to iron them; and even at last, the Handcuffs etc. necessary to fetter our Clerks and Interpreters, were carried along with them from Fort Armstrong.

---

[22] See *Ibid*, pp. 477–479, 483. Benjamin O'Fallon was born in Kentucky about 1792; later he lived at St. Louis with his uncle, Gen. William Clark. He saw some service during the War of 1812–15, and at its close became Indian agent—not at Prairie du Chien, but for Missouri Territory; he was, however, at the former place in 1816–17. In 1819 he was on the Missouri River; and again in 1825, his headquarters being at Council Bluffs. In 1827 he retired to his country home near St. Louis, where he died in 1843.—Ed.

[23] These traders are noted in our preceding volumes—Franks in xviii, p. 463, note 85; Rolette, xix, p. 140, note 84; Berthelot, *Ibid*, p. 304, note 35.—Ed.

Charles Oakes Ermatinger,[24] an Agent of Lord Selkirk decidedly a British subject, and residing on the Canada side of the strait at St. Marys falls, imported from Montreal last Summer a quantity of Goods for the trade of Lake Superior, and wished through our means to get them into the Country; but this we positively declined, as being at varience with the intentions of the Government, and of course opposite to the Instructions you gave us. He then applied directly to Major Puthuff for licences, and indirectly through his brother George at Mackinnac; but both these trials proved abortive, as the Agent was perfectly aware of the applicants Characters, and evidence was at his Command which precluded his granting Consistently to those persons, any indulgence whatever.

Ermatinger next attempted their introduction through a Mr. Bostwick, the partner and Agent of David Stone and Co[25] (which concern we are told includes a man by the name of Bellows, and others equally notorious for feats by no means praiseworthy, on the frontiers of Canada, during the late War) whose efforts with Puthuff were at the first onset unsuccessful, but for causes best known to the parties in this doubtful transaction, the whole of Ermatingers goods were sent into the Country, on, and adjoining Lake Superior; though that district was amply supplied by American interest, and notwithstanding we exerted ourselves to arouse the Major to a sense of that duty which he promised us faithfully to execute, when this project first came to his knowledge, and at that time pledged himself to prevent the possibility of their being sold in any part of the Indian Territory, within the limits of the United States. The only reason he ever gave us for this conduct, was, that Gov. Cass had ordered him to grant licences to such persons as Bostwick wished to send into the interior: and accordingly sheltered himself be-

[24] Ermatinger was the son of a Swiss merchant of Canada, who before 1814 had settled on the Canadian side of Sault Ste. Marie, where he lived for many years and prospered in trade. His brother George was a Wisconsin trader.—Ed.

[25] For Stone & Co. see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 461, note 83.—Ed.

hind this Command of His Excellency: although he very well knew, and at one period was perfectly aware, this order was intended to apply *solely* to those Traders, who carried into the Country the goods *only,* that were in reality the property of David Stone and Co and the behaviour of Major Puthuff towards Ermatinger since, has furnished strong grounds, to suspect his purity in the business before us, for it is known to every one interested in the trade, and to many others at Mackinaw, that he could hardly be induced to see Charles O. Ermatinger in the early part of the summer, threatening even to arrest and send him to Detroit whereas, after the Consummation of this mysterious affair, they were often seen together, and Ermatinger was treated by him, as any man would a very intimate friend.

Thus far we have stated grievances in which we can only recognize the individuals concerned, and happy would it be, did these furnish the only grounds for just complaint: but the Factories established by law in the Indian Country, have become so numerous, and are of late provided with such extensive means, as threatens in a very few years more, to annihilate private competition, and throw the whole trade into the hands of Government. We are not disposed to question the soundness of the policy which originally brought these establishments into being, but we are persuaded Congress adopted the measure, only, because they found but few, if any, Americans pursuing this branch of Commerce; and they intended by placing these trading houses on the frontiers, with Agents instructed to sell at cost and charges, to render the traffic so very unproductive to the Canadian Trader, as to destroy the temptation that connected him with the Indians: thus breaking up an intercourse, which the British Government found essential in rivetting the influence they acquired in the Councils of the natives; and gradually by the habits of Trade, and the exercise of friendship to wean them from a partiality so dangerous and detrimental to the interests of the United States. But congress never could intend the Factories to degenerate into mere places of trade, and Consequently a very great annoyance to our own traders,

and although we never doubted their utility, w[h]ere foreign influence was to be counteracted through the medium of trade, we should like to know whether any impartial man of sense would attempt to convince us, a Factory is or *ever was necessary at Fort Asage,*[26] three hundred miles up the Missouri, where an alien Trader has not been admitted for the last Ten years, which is two years before the Fort was built, and the factory planted. Giving to the House at Fort Wayne full credit for all the Good it has done, we cannot possibly conceive what can be gained by those at Chicago, Green Bay, Prairie du Chien and Fort Asage, at the *latter* we dare not believe there is any foreign influence among the natives, and at the *three* other posts, it is already so weak that American individual enterprize if unshackled, would put it out of existence in much less time than by Continuing the Factories. For the Indians accustomed to intercourse with the British authorities universally [think] that the Goods of *Government* cannot be brought into their Country *for Sale;* and although the practice of the Factor ought every day to convince them of their error, still the force of habit remains, and they think it a hardship, to give even half value for an article out of the public store, when, did not such depots exist, they would Cheerfully pay the private trader a fair price; as they conceive whatever they give to the factor, as *just* that much *more* than ought to have been exacted. No agent can prevent the injurious comparisons they make between, the United States and the Government of Britain, and until this *cause* is removed, the effects will continue; for were they disposed to forget their old partiallities, they must first be deprived of both the faculties of seeing and hearing. Untill of late the Factors remained at their stations, and traded what was brought them; but whether by the authority of

[26] Fort Osage (also called Fort Clark) was built in 1808, to control the Osage Indians. Abandoned during the first year of the war, it was intermittently maintained until 1827, when it was superseded by Fort Leavenworth. The factory was maintained here until the abolition of the system.—Ed.

the executive, or the dictates of their own ambition, Mr. Johnston of Prairie du Chien, and Mr. Erving [Irwin] at Green Bay[27] now send adventures into the country far from their posts; thereby depriving the most persevering of the advantage he gained by travelling to remote districts—and not contented with even this, Mr. Johnston has employed Antoine Brisbois,[28] a trader of the prairie, and a British subject, to go out with goods at Public risk, though this very same person was absolutely refused permission to visit the interior on his private account.

The further this factory system is investigated, the more objectionable it appears, if still intended to attain the objects proposed by the Congress that created it, and if a factor is to be in *reality* a trader, it is but fair he should not possess the advantage of employing Foreigners who cannot obtain licence for themselves, since it is sufficiently hard that the Citizen who obtains a liveli[h]ood by this traffic, should find a Competitor in the Government of his Country, without being subjected, to the opposition of men, whom he is not at liberty to engage on his side. If these trading Houses *must* be Continued, they certainly ought to be placed on the frontiers, at proper distances from the outlet of Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods, and thence along the Western boundary line to the Rocky Mountains; where they ought to expect, and will no doubt find British influence to oppose. But the middle Country from the Lakes to the Missouri, does not require their superintendence, and where nothing exists to make such establishments indispensable in a Country, the Government have *as much* the right, and more *reason* to engross any particular branch of commerce, in either, or all our Seaports, as to incessantly harrass those who to provide against the Winter of age, bury them-

---

[27] Noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 269, 270, 475.—Ed.

[28] Antoine, younger brother of Michel Brisbois, was born in Canada in 1766. He lived three miles above the Prairie, combining the avocations of trader and farmer. He appears to have died before the Treaty of 1825.—Ed.

selves for years in the forests of the Mississippi. Factors will be loud, and their many friends will trumpet forth the dangers attending the distruction of the Factories, but let the United States, adopt the plan followed by the British Government on the conquest of Canada, admit our predecessors of *good* Character to a participation in the trade, and by securing to those people a certain support, you disarm them of that inveteracy which their desperate situation induces; let a Young American accompany each, to learn the Language of the natives, and get a knowledge of the trade. The old Stock will soon disappear, and leave you the undivided Controul of all the Indians within the limits of the United States.

To obtain the confidence of the Indians will be a work of time, and we should consider the total exclusion at once of the *old* traders; as highly impolitic: for their places must be supplied by inexperience, and it is more then probable that differences would arise, which might end in Bloodshed; and finally involve the Country in a War with the whole Western Indians. It is indispensable, and time is required to become acquainted, not only with their habits, Customs and manners, but also with them individually; and this being gained, the American of probity will imperceptibly become as great a favorite, as his predecessor.[29]

* * * * * * * *

Mr. Farnhams affairs we trust will be thoroughly sifted, and Colo. Chambers taught, that though he may Command at a station, beyond the immediate Controul of the Civil law, he has not the power to abridge the right of any Citizen. Mr. O.'Fallen also deserves to be recommended, as his hiring the Indians to kill Mr. St. Jean, bespeaks his Capacity to fill the appointment given him by his Uncle, of Indian Agent. It is high time the trade should be relieved from the persecution of such petty tyrants, and the War Department ought to make it a rule, that Officers at frontier Posts have *simply* the right to ascer-

[29] The omitted portions deal with Lord Selkirk and the troubles in the Northwest.—Ed.

tain whether the trader is licenced, not to constitute themselves judges, of the power Indian Agents possess to grant these permissions: the Government should explicitly and publicly say *who* are appointed to issue licences, in all cases; and a passport from that source ought *every where* to *protect* the trader from the assumption of power, tending in many instances to the ruin of the individual. Among the subjects furnished you for representation to the Government, the too common system of smuggling from the British post of Drummonds Island, and the Straits of Lake Superior, into the District of Michillimackinac, must not be forgotten: for the Revenue is annually defrauded of *several* Thousand Dollars, and the fair trader thereby injured to an extent so very serious and alarming as authorizes the belief that the Treasury Department will immediately resort to the best means effectually to stop such illicit practices. We have seen during the last summer, Indians detected bringing in Goods, much beyond the quantities their own necessities required, and the confession of One particularly established the fact, of more property being introduced by means of the natives, than had been previously imagined, even by those best acquainted with their mischievous Agency. If the Indians will go across the lines for the Merchandize they stand in need of, they ought to be restricted to the Amount of their real Wants, and if it was understood that Corporeal punishment was attached to the violation of this Rule, no inducement could prevail on them any longer to assist these confirmed Law-breakers. Those on a large Scale must be opposed by Vigilance and force, and it appears to us, the employing of a Revenue Cutter in the Straits of Superior, Huron and Michigan is the most certain means of destroying the prospects of successful smuggling, for the danger of detection will then be so great as to counterbalance the expected gains. The Vessel ought to be about *twenty five* tons burthen, Commanded by a person accustomed to the Lakes, with, say, One Officer, and six Sailors, and authority to select a few soldiers from the Garrison of Michillimackinac, who can act as marines, or assist to man the Boat, sent sometimes into places, where it would be imprudent to ven-

ture with the Cutter, and on all occasions leave on board, an officer and three Sailors to work the Vessel. The Detroit custom House obtained a Cutter last Fall, which more then supported herself by her Captures, and the difference in the amount of duties paid on Goods from Canada, and if success attended that instance, the one recommended we are persuaded, must produce more beneficial results.

Notwithstanding the ravings of disappointed malice and ambition, the efforts and Sacrifices you have repeatedly made to further the views of the Government in relation to the Aborigines of the Country within the American limits, ought certainly to entitle you, to every aid, and, indulgence in the prosecution of your trade, which the executive can consistently bestow. But if all we have said when represented by yourself, does not produce the abolition of the Factories, now no longer necessary: or at least create a thorough change in their present organization, it will in our opinion be imprudent in you to continue interested in the trade. For though we can by a proper course, compel the Agents of Government to respect our rights, Yet we cannot check the extention of the System lately pursued by the public trading Houses in situations affecting our commerce most materially and which on the most mature deliberation, gives us every reason to fear, and but little to hope from even the most active exertions on our part.

Though in the progress of the preceding, we have in some instances used language rather rough for the delicate senses of those deserving such animadversions; Yet we can assure you we "nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice;" and you are perfectly at liberty to use it in whatever manner you may think necessary. We are Dear Sir Your Mo. Ob. Servts

Ramy. Crooks
Robert Stuart

1818: WHO CONSTITUTE FOREIGNERS?

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 292.]

MICHILLIMACKINAC 4 March 1818

DEAR SIR—Your order bearing date Jany. last relating to Indian Trade, has been received. This puts the Question of Special Licence to Foreigners at rest, and relieves me at once from extreme anxiety and a most unpleasant responsibility. There yet remains, however, some pretty important principles to settle and establish within this Agency, respecting the proper subjects for the rights of Citizenship, concerning which, there being no statute in that case provided within my knowledge, it becomes necessary to have your Instructions, at as early a period as possible. The great mass of the people who inhabit this district are of French extraction and were found in the Country on its delivery by the British to the American Government, or such as have descended from them mostly from a Connection with the aboriginal inhabitants, few or none of them having made their election to remain subject to Great Britain within one year after the delivery of the Territory. But after the fall of this Post in 1812 they subscribe their alligiance to the British Government, as they say from Compulsion; and many of them conceive themselves bound by that Oath of alligiance, however unjustly enforced, and profess to fear that they would stand commited to the american Government by rescinding such allegiance to that of Britain. Others under those circumstances, claim the rights of Citizenship, professing to have been illegally compelled to their acknowledging the Sovereignty of Britain. The claims and doubts of these people will I hope be put at rest by your Instructions on that subject. Such Foreign licences as have been heretofore Issued, I have not felt myself authorized to withdraw, as conceiving your Instructions to relate only to future issues. none have been given here however, since last Summer, nor any for a term exceeding One year from their date.

The Indians of this Agency were never more pacific and absolutely reconciled to the American Government than at pres-

ent, nor will there be any thing to fear from them, under any circumstances of Hostility on the part of their brethren of the South towards our Government. This friendly disposition towards us, is the more effectually Tested from the circumstances of the almost total failure of their Corn Crops last Season which unfortunately places them in a most starving Condition and renders it extremely unfortunate for them that Funds appropriated for this Department will not, under their present distressed circumstances, admit of partial supplies of rations furnished them. They However bear this privation most patiently, nor does a murmur escape them against Government, Though they are frequently a little *importunate* for *Bread.*

I sincerely hope an increase of funds will be allowed to the Indian Department by the present Congress.

The opinion of the Free hold inhabitant Citizens of the U. States, residing in this district has been taken and forwarded pursuant to your instructions. Ten in number all For, the real property here is mostly owned by Foreigners, hence the very small number of votes. I have detained two Indians, who came with Graveratt,[30] for the purpose of forwarding this result according to your request.

These poor fellows I hope your Excellency will remunerate as I have not the *means.*

I expect to make a short visit to Detroit by the earliest Water Communication, for which I hope you will grant your permission, by the first vessel in the Spring, as, if I shall obtain it, I wish to go as early as possible in order to return here before the arrival of N. and S. W. furs. I am Sir, Your Mo. Ob. Humble Servant

William Heny. Puthuff
Ind. Agent Mackw.

His Excellency L. Cass Govr. of M. Ty. etc. etc.

---

[30] Henry Gravaret was from Detroit, and belonged to a loyal American family. During the war he was employed by Harrison, and at its close was appointed interpreter for Mackinac.—Ed.

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Letter Book D, p. 505.]

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE GEORGETOWN March 6, 1818

M Irwin Esqr. U. S. F. Green Bay

SIR—I have duly received your letters of the 28th August and 18th Septr. with their enclosures. The reply of Maj Taylor[31] satisfies me he is well disposed to co-operate with you. The reasons he assigns for his inability to do so hitherto are good and justifiable. With Maj Taylors good will, I cannot but promise myself that your Buildings will grow up with great facility and from the refusal on the part of the Govt. to let foreigners into a participation of our trade, I think you may calculate on success in future.

Your detailed reasons why there should be so little business done at Green Bay, are entirely satisfactory. So far as foreigners are concerned however, they are now inoperative, and cannot oppose you in future. I look therefore to a revival of the trade.

The additional papers furnished, make your returns for the quarter ending June 30th complete. Respectfully etc.

T. L. McK[ENNY]

S. I. T.

1818: A TRADER'S PREPARATION

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., Martin Papers.]

MONTREAL 11th March 1818

MY DEAR JOHN[32]—I rec[d] yours dated Green Bay 16th. Dec[r]. and am sorry to learn that your prospects are so very bad should all turn out according *to your statement* I do not know What will become of us. I have given my order to Mr. Bost-

[31] This was Zachary Taylor, then major of the 3d infantry and in command at Green Bay, 1816–18.—ED.

[32] John Lawe, for sketch of whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 250, note.—ED.

wick for 30 pieces Stroud with the assortment which I consider very compleat I am taking up two Barges from this with as many Winterers as I can procure. I have already 300 Beavor Traps Baled up 250 half axes & 250 Caustettes [Tomahawks], so that you see some Exertion must be made next fall to get the Followines [Menominee] up to the Missisipii. I am really sorry to hear of J. Airds[33] Conduct which I never could have thought would have been the case, it is high time we should Close our Concerns *with him* I wish it had been last year. we should have suffer'd less by it. however I mean it shall take place this summer; one years good Exertion in the Country will Probably bring us up a little, I shall be fully with the Goods I take up & you will have the disposing of them as you think most proper.

I have not rec[d] one Copper from the U. States Government for any of the accounts against them as yet which obliges me to get all I want on Credit but unfortunately payable next Oct[r]. in respect to your Complaining of not being assorted when I left Mackinac you was to have purchased Goods to have assorted yourself if you have not done so its not my fault, but it appears to me you have bought to a pretty large am[t]: as there is so much due at Mackinac by your statement in your letter, after this insuing years Exertion in the Country which will be absolutely Necessary to make to enable us to get on. you will then Confine yourself to a Retail Store at the Bay or any other situation you think proper to point out and if you mean to keep a Retail Store you will make out a Compleat order acording to your own Ideas and by handing it to me, I shall take good care to compleat it its nothing but our Mutual advantage that I am Studying and that you ought to be Convinced of; had I recover'd the Monies due from the U. States I should not be pinched as I am. for you know the Balance that was coming to me from Bostwick was principally due to the different Persons in Montreal, I was very unfortunate in Lake Erie the Vessel sprung a Leak & we lost one half of our Buffaloe skins. which I was

[33] For James Aird see *Id*, xviii, p. 437.—Ed.

oblig'd to throw over board. Mr. Bostwicks loss on the Furs he bought of us cannot be less than £500. I was truly sorry for him. from the Quantity of Traps Axes & Guns I have purchased it will be Necessary to get the Followines up to the Missisipii next Year *notwithstanding* all the ristrictive measures of the American Government; M^r^. Stone who was here but a few days ago is of opinion that we can go on with our Trade and that by imploying young Americans to take out the Goods. he thinks that it would be much to your advantage [if] you was to make application to the Court at Detroit to become a Citizen on account of your Property you hold at the Bay, the particulars I will explain to you when I see you. M^r^ Stone also says if M^r^. Astor has any advantage with the American Government he is sure he will be intitled to *as much* from the Interest of his friends who are Members of Congress which information has in some measure made my mind more Easy. *how well* M^r^. Dickson has refunded the money we disbursed for him he sent me a Draft for 1500 Livers and that is all he winters at Lac La Gros Roche [Big Stone Lake] at the head of the River St. Peters he wrote me Just four lines and never mentions that he is going to send me one Farthing more for all the disbursements we have made for him, he has acted towards us in a most infamous manner. should he send his Boat round by the Bay. you should [do] your utmost to get from them what you can [Ms. torn] I am Confident your Property at the Bay will [be of] great value in a very few Years I have enjoy'd [Ms. torn] good health this winter I have nothing new to [comm]unicate anticipating the happiness of meeting [Ms. torn] good health I remain Dear John your truly affectionate Uncle.

JACOB FRANKS

1818: ADVANTAGES OF FACTORY SYSTEM

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 104.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE 19th. March 1818.

Hon: Henry Southard

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, conveying to me "The request of the Committee on Indian affairs for all the information in my power relative to the establishment of Eight new trading houses, or posts; the necessity of the measure, and as far as I can, the posts or places most eligible for such establishments."

Of the information I possess having a bearing upon the proposition to organize eight new Trading houses, I shall be able to furnish you with a sketch only—and in doing this I shall be led to a review of the U. S. policy in relation to the Trading house system.

This system, which grew up, no doubt, under the two fold view of conveying articles of necessity amongst the Indians, and to promote peace, as well in the Forests as along our borders, has not failed in its original design. I consider this to be capable of demonstration. I mean however, so far as it has been able from the limited scale on which it has been prosecuted and the checks that have operated to oppose it, to develope itself. Wherever its influence has *prevailed* without being counteracted by the adroitness of private adventurers both foreign and domestic, who not only vary and accomodate their modes of intercourse to suit circumstances, and tempt the Indians to follow them by the inticing and intoxicating beverage, (which sound policy excludes from the U. S. establishments) but who traverse the wilds also, and intercept the journeyings of the Indians to their accustomed trading points—where await them always, that example, and those precepts which tend to improve their condition; promote peace, and attach them to our Government. I say wherever this influence has prevailed the result has been manifest; to cultivate those ameliorating and peacefull lessons, is made as much the duty of the Factors exer-

cize at the U. S. agency, as it is to receive the products of the chase at fair rates, and give back in return such articles as best suit the wants and tastes of the Indians.

It has been a question whether it least comported with the welfare of the Indians, to let in upon them the private traders, or to leave those tribes whose remoteness shut them out from all intercourse with the factories already established to seek a subsistence in their native deserts; and find a covering from the weather in the spoils of the chase. For my own part, I am decidedly of opinion that our best policy is, where a *suitable,* and *improveing influence* cannot be carried in amongst the Tribes, it is better to leave them to themselves. If the private adventurers added to their scheme of profit, the more noble designs of bettering the condition of our native Inhabitants; of diverting them from their propensity for war, as well with each other, as against our civil population; there could be no exceptions taken to their intercourse, nor would any objection be made against the activity of their competition—indeed there would be little or no necessity for a Governmental interference, at all. But so far as my information extends, their agency, taking it all together, has been, and is yet, subversive of all the objects Government had in view in the adoption of the present system of commercial intercourse with the Indian. If this be the experience had under existing circumstances, when the necessity of admitting private traders, *at all,* has grown out of a deficiency of means under the Government policy to supply the wants of the Indians it follows, especially if the U. S. agencies promote the welfare and also tend to guard our own Citizens from harm, that to *increase* the capacity to meet the demands of the Indians, will be both politick and just.

In proportion as the Indians are brought within the influence of the U. S. agencies, and are made to depend upon them for their subsistence in the same proportion may they be controlled. I know of no check that could be devised having such powerfull influences as that which this sort of dependence would impose on the Indians. Armies themselves would not be so effectual

in regulating the native Inhabitants as would a state of dependence on the Government for their *commercial intercourse*. But as the system now stands, an option is held out, and the Tribes may either resort to the few scattering trading houses already in operation, or they may dispose of their hunts at other markets. The Check is weakened in proportion as this liberty is extended. It is very true that this policy embraces the idea of compulsion. But no objection can arise against it in its application to this subject, as those to whom it is proposed to apply it are to be benefitted by the arrangement. It's object is too humane to admit of an exception. The power over the Indians is covetted only for their good, and also to prevent them from doing harm.

From these desultory ideas may be gathered the "necessity" of establishing additional Trading houses, provided there be coupled with this encrease, an expulsion of private traders, at least from the districts of Country which those Indians occupy who are intended to be served by the encrease.

It may not be amiss to remark in this place that no hostility is meditated against a prosecution of trade by our own Citizens in their private capacity, provided their modes of intercourse were changed. Permanence of location I consider an indispensable requisite in their admission, to this might be added stipulations compelling them to conform their intercourse in all respects with the U. S. policy, subject to its rules and regulations, *and in all respects*. They might be made auxiliaries to the U. S. system. I mean so far as these relate to the improvement of the Indians; and in the promotion of peace amongst them, and with our civil population.

Eight additional Trading houses are called for at this time, and their locations might be.

First—On the Arkansas, at or near the military Post established there, and which is stipulated for by a treaty lately made with the Cherokees.

Second—On the Ouisconsin—N. W. Territory

Third—River St. Peters, at or about its junction with the Mississippi.

Fourth—Council Bluffs on the Missouri.

Fifth—On the Illinois, somewhere about midway from its junction with the Mississippi and Lake Michigan.
Sixth—Fort Madison on the Mississippi
Seventh—Chippeway River, below the falls.

Spread over those regions those factories; place the Indians by suitable regulations respecting individual intercourse in a state of *dependence* on them, and there can be little doubt of the most favorable and speedy results, the various tribes may be directed to the respective factories and those most contigious to them and refused admission into others—by this means a state of tranquility might be calculated on, and a fair opening made to introduce the higher principles of improvement in civilization. The Tribes would be releaved from the disgusting exhibitions of depravity which are now forced upon their observations; and which tend so directly to rouse into action the worst principles of the savage character, and united to an observance of those nobler examples seconded by precept which the U. S. agents are charged to carry in amongst them, an immitation of, and conformity with which, are not so very difficult to bring about as many have supposed. It is to the collisions of adventurers, and the inflammatory means which are adopted to obtain the ascendancy over the native in trade, that their apparent backwardness in improvement may be attributed; and not to any incapacity on their part to receive and profit by those incipient measures for their reform which a well regulated intercourse implies. All the information I possess on this subject, goes to confirm this opinion. The more improved Indians, (and they are uniformly those who have enjoyed the longest, and the least interrupted intercourse with the public agencies) sollicit the interference of the Govt. they beg for the means of instruction; and to be preserved from the evils which they endure.

It is not difficult to perceive the difference between the agency of a man who goes forth to *profit* by his adventure and with no other view, and one, whose duty it is made, as well by his oath, as by his calling, to sustain an intercourse in which profit is but an incidental or secondary consideration, whose compensation is fixed without reference to his success; and whose attention therefore is applied without distraction to the object of his calling.

That the Committee may see how far this applies to a public agent or Factor, I beg leave to insert a Copy of the first paragraph of the letter of instructions with which all who go into the Indian Country in that capacity, are furnished. "The principal object of the Government in these establishments being to secure the friendship of the Indians in our Country, in a way the most beneficial and economical to the U. S. you will avail yourself of every proper means and opportunity of impressing these people favorably towards the Government, let every transaction with them be so conducted as to inspire them with full confidence in its honor, integrity, and good faith, and that of its agent; let no imperfect goods be passed on them without a previous notice of, and allowance for such imperfection, and you will strictly require from them, and encourage them to the same conduct, all attempts on their part at fraud, trick, or deception should be discountenanced and prevented if possible, and when such things happen, they should be reproved in the most instructive and dignified manner. You will nevertheless be conciliatory in all your intercourse with the Indians, and so demean yourself toward them generally, and toward their Chiefs in particular, as to obtain and procure their friendship, and to secure their attachment to the United States." From this it will be seen that the interests of our civil population are consulted; and that so far as the influence of those precepts extend, and take effect, so far is it reasonable to infer, the Indians themselves will be benefitted; and our frontier Citizens preserved in security and peace.

In proportion as the number of those agencies encrease, in the same proportion is it reasonable to infer that mutual advantages will result to both the Indians and the U. States. The *"necessity"* for the encrease at this time, may be inferred from that state of excitement which exists with but little intermission in the Indian Country, which is produced mainly by the causes that have been referred to, and which can be overcome by no more direct means than by the enlargement of the United States policy. I am etc etc etc

T. L. McK[enny].

1818: RETURNS FROM UPPER MISSISSIPPI

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS 4B71.]

LAPRAIRIE DU CHIEN 17 Apr 1818

DEAR LAW—I arrived here yesterday in Good health alon with M[r] Lockwood & M[r] Dickson.[34] our returns are by n means Good Altho' the Best from the upper Mississipi. I dou think the Loss will Exceed five or Six Hundred pounds I wa disappointed in Not receiving a line From you on my Arrivin here as you have had opportunities of Writting Since the fal No thing new here worth Communicating and as I am Ju Getting my thing[s] Ajust[ed]I have not time to Give you a lis of our Peltries. My Comp[t]. To all Friends I remain D[r] La Yours &c. &c.

JAMES AIRD

Mr. John Law Green Bay

Endorsed: Letter from James Aird dated Prairie du Chien 17 April 1818

1818: MODIFICATION OF EXCLUSION ORDERS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Offi Book 203, Letter Book 2, p. 347.]

DETROIT April 23d. 1818.

SIR—By my letter of the 22d. January last you were i formed that the President had determined that the trade Foreigners with the Indians living within the United Stat should cease, and were instructed not to grant Licences to an persons but American Citizens to enter the Indian Countr for the purpose of trade, either in a principal or subordina Capacity.

---

[34] See Lockwood's own account of his employment by Aird in *Wi Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 129. Robert Dickson was acting as Selkirk's age in the Red River Colony. See *Id*, xix, pp. 462, 464, and documen *post*.—ED.

Old American Fur Company warehouse, Prairie du Chien

From photograph taken in recent years

Fur-trading house at Kaukauna

Left-hand portion built by Dominic du Charme in 1791; right-hand added by Augustin Grignon in 1813. From photograph taken in 1890

The President has since from farther information and from an apprehension, that American Citizens will experience much inconvenience from this Total exclusion of foreigners, determined that permits may be granted to American traders, to employ in their trade with the Indians foreign Boatmen and Interpreters.

You will therefore when requested by such traders, permit foreign Boatmen and Interpreters to enter the Indian Country in their employ for the purpose of trade. But as great abuses may be experienced by entering as Boatman and Interpreters foreigners Hostile to our Country, who may be intended to have the Principal control over the trading Expedition "the following regulations will guide you in the exercise of the authority which the President has been pleased to grant upon this subject.

1. A Descriptive list must be furnished of all foreigners intended to be thus employed, which must be so minute as to identify the persons described, as near as possible, one Copy of which shall be retained, by the Agt. and One by the trader.

2. The names of the foreigners thus employed shall be inserted in the Licence, and a Copy of this Descriptive list endorsed upon or affixed to the same, and to the Bond required to be taken.

3. A Bond with at least one sufficient security, the form of which markd. A. accompanies this letter will be required from each trader, in a penalty equal to Five hundred Dollars for each foreign Boatman or Interpreter intended to be employed, conditioned for the purposes specified in the form.

4. A Bond with at least one sufficient security, the form of which Marked B. accompanies this letter will be required from each Trader in a penalty equal to one half of the amount of the Goods destined for such trade, that they are the property of an American citizen or Citizens.

5. It will be necessary to ascertain which of the foreigners thus employed are intended to act as Interpreters, and for each Foreign Interpreter, an American Citizen must be employed, in order to be trained to the duties of an Interpreter.

6. A statement of the Bonds thus taken and Copies of the descriptive lists will be transmitted to me as opportunities may occur.

These Bonds are not intended to supercede the Bonds required by the act of Congress entitled "An act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and preserve peace on the frontier" passed March 30th, 1802. The latter will be taken as heretofore.

"Foreigners, who are odious to our Citizens on account of their Activity and cruelty in the late War are not intended to be admitted in any Capacity" Your own discretion must guide you in the application of this prohibition to individual cases.

As the authority thus to be excercised is derived from the powers granted to the President by the act of Congress passed April 29, 1816 entitled "An act supplementary to the act passed the thirtieth day of March 1802 to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and preserve peace on the frontiers" It will be confided only to those Agents, to whom the powers granted under that Act by Instructions from the War Department of May 10th. 1816 was confided.

They are the Agents at Michillimackinac, Green Bay and Chicago.

Very respectfully, Sir, I have the honor to be Yo. Ob. Serv.

[Lewis Cass]

To the Agents at Mackinac, Green Bay, and Chicago.

A.

Know all men by these presents that We (1) are held and stand firmly bound unto the United States of America in the penal sum of (2) Dollars, to which payment well and truly to be made, We do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, Executors and administrators firmly by these presents. Sealed with our Seals and dated at (3) this (4) day of (5) in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and (6)

The Conditions of the above obligation is such, that whereas a licence has this day been granted by (7) Agent for Indian affairs at (8) to the said (9) to trade until the (10) day of (11) in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred an (12) unless sooner revoked with the Indians at (13)

And whereas the said (14) is desirous of employing as Boatmen or Interpreters in such trade (15) Who are not Citizens of the United States, and whose discriptive lists are annexed to this bond, and whereas permission has been granted by virtue of instructions from the War Department, dated the twenty-fifth day of March, One thousand Eight hundred and Eighteen, to said (16) to employ in his said Indian trade the said (17) as Boatmen or Interpreters. Now therefore if the said (18) are actually Boatmen or Interpreters, and if they shall be employed by the said (19) in the said trade as Boatmen or Interpreters, and in no other Capacity whatever during the time specified in the said Licence, then this obligation shall be void, otherwise remain in full force and Virtue.

Signed Sealed and delivered in presence of } (Seal)

(Seal)

Referrences

1. Here insert the names of the principles and security.
2. The Amt. of the penallty which must be equal to five hundred dollars for each Foreign Boatmen and Interpreter employed.
3. The seat of the Agency
4. The day
5. Month
6. and Year
7. The name of the Agent
8. The seat of the Agency
9. The name of the person to whom the licence is granted
10. Here insert the day
11. Month
12. and year
13. Place where the person is authorized to trade
14. Name of the person licenced to trade
15. Names of the Foreign Boatman or Interpreters employed
16. Name of the person licenced to trade

17. Names of the Foreign Boatmen or Interpreters employed
18. Names of the Foreign Boatmen or Interpreters employed
19. Nature of the person licenced to trade

B.

Know all men by these presents that

We (1) are held and stand firmly bound unto the United States of America in the penal sum of (2) dollars, to which payment well and truly to be made, we do hereby bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators firmly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated at (3) this (4) day of (5) in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and (6) The Condition of the above obligation is such that whereas a licence has this day been granted by (7) Agent for Indian affairs at (8) to trade with the Indians at (9) until the (10) day of (11) in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and (12) unless sooner revoked, Now therefore if the property mentioned in the Invoice furnished by the said (13) a Copy of which is hereupon annexed, signed by the said (14) is actually imployed by the said (15) in his trade, under the said licence and is truly and bona fide the property of an American Citizen or Citizens, and if no other property is employed in the said trade by the said (16) then the obligation shall be void otherwise remain in full force and virtue.

Signed sealed and delivered in presence of } (L. S.) (L. S.)

1. Here insert the names of the principal Security
2. Penalty, being half of the amt. of the value of the Goods.
3. Seat of the Agency
4. Day
5. Month
6. Year
7. Name of the Agent
8. Seat of the Agency
9. Place to which is licenced to trade
10. Day
11. Month
12. Year to which the licence extends.

13. Name of the person licenced to trade.
14. Same.
15. Same.
16. Same.

1818: LICENSES MAY NOT BE GRANTED BEYOND AGENCY BOUNDARIES

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 203, Letter Book Vol. 2, p. 343.]

(Circular)

DETROIT April 22d. 1818

SIR—With a view to give greater effect to the laws and regulations concerning the Indian Trade, to observe and direct the conduct of the Indians, and to attain with more certainty the various objects contemplated by the Government in relation to them, I have thought it proper to assign specifick limits to the different agencies, within the superintendency of the Governor of this Territory.

The result of my enquiries upon the subject, you will find in the following divisionary description, which will hereafter constitute the limits, within which the duties of the Agents will be respectively exercised.

The Agency at Piqua will include all the Wyandotts, Senecas and Shawnese residing in the state of Ohio, the Ottawas of Blanchards fork and the Delawares residing upon White River and the Indians living with them.

The agency at Fort Wayne will include all the Miamies and their sub-divisions residing in the State of Ohio and the northern part of the state of Indiana, It will be divided from the Agency at Chicago by a line including Tippekanoe and running thence due North to the Kankekee, up the Kankekee to Oak point, thence to the Cow pen, thence to and including Morains village.

The Agency at Chicago will be divided from the Agency at Fort Wayne by the last mentioned line, and will extend on the East side of Lake Michigan to the Dead mans River on the

West side of Lake Michigan North to Millewakee and include the Indians at the Mouth of that River.

The Agency at Green Bay will be divided by the last mentioned line from the Agency at Chicago, and will include the Indians at Green Bay, its islands and rivers, running to the Head Waters of the Mississippi and to the Portage between the fox and Ouisconsin rivers, and extending East, as near Midway between Michillimackinac and Green Bay as a natural Geographical boundary to be agreed on between the Agents at the two last mentioned places and reported to me can be found.

The Agency at Michillimackinac will include all the Territory of the United States bordering upon Lake Superior the Country in the Vicinity of Michillimackinac and will extend west to the line to be designated between this Agency and that at Green Bay, and South East, to the River au Sable, and will include the East shore of Lake Michigan as far south as Dead mans River.

The Agency at Detroit will include that part of the Territory of Michigan extending north East to the River au Sable, and West to the dividing Country between the Rivers running into Lake Michigan and there running East, and will extend so far south as to include the Ottawas and Chippewas upon the Miami and the shore of Lake Erie.

It is intended that the internal police and concerns of the Indians within these limits respectively shall be under the exclusive management and control of the proper Agents, and that Licences to trade with the Indians shall generally be granted in like manner.

Exceptions to the provision with respect to licences may at times be necessary. Where Goods are taken from the immediate vicinity of the Seat of One Agency into the limits of another so that it would operate as a hardship upon an Individual to send him out of the course of his trade and journey for a Licence, and compel him to procure security, when he may have no connections, a discretionary authority must be exercised to grant Licences within the limits of another Agency. But in this

case an immediate report must be made to the Agent within whose boundary the licence is to extend of the circumstances and an Entry made upon the licence that it shall be subject to the control of such Agent.

It is not foreseen that any other interference can be necessary. Should experience however render any change necessary to local limits of the Agencies or the principles of these regulations can be changed so as to accommodate any circumstances which may occur.

Each of the Agents is requested to correspond frequently and fully with this Office, and any thing of importance, which happens here shall be communicated to them. It is only by a frequent and direct interchange of sentiments, views and occurrences, that any regular system of Indian Affairs can be established or maintained; or that any effect can be produced in the operations of the Machine of which we are respectively constituant parts.

As intelligence is communicated only from here to the Government, an additional motive is furnished for this regular correspondence.

It will be perceived that no boundaries are designated to divide the Agencies within this Superintendency from those which are not. This subject must be referred to the discretion of the Agents thus situated, and the extent of their authority and duties with relation to other agencies must depend upon circumstances and upon their views of the public interest. Very respectfully Sir, I have the honor to be Yo Ob Servt.

[Lewis Cass.]

To Major Puthuff Colo. Bowyer Mr. Jouett, Mr. Stickney, and Mr. Johnston Agents for Indian Affairs.

1819: INDIAN CENSUS

(MS. in Indian office, Washington. Pressmark: Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 221.)

Statement of Indians residing on the W. Side of Lake Michigan and East of Said Lake.

Tribes.	Number of men.	Number of women.	Probable number of children.	Number of towns.	Where Situated.	Distance.	Miles.	District.
Chippeways	300	250	750	15	W. Side of L Michigan	from Mackinac to G: Bay	200	Col: Bowyers Agency
Menominees	250	180	400	5		at and near Green Bay		
Winnebagoes	500	350	700	10		Ouisconsin, etc	150	
Menominees	100	60	110	4	The River of Illinois	from Chicago	75	Mr. Jouett
Potawatimies	110	75	100	8	N. W of Chicago	from do	45	
"	245	165	350	10	do do			
"	90	65	140	5	do do	from do	15	
"	190	140	280	6	S. W. of Chicago	from 45 to 80 miles from Chicago		
"	6	4	10	1	bordering on L. Mich	from Chicago	72	
Ottawas	150	100	225	5	Kekalemazo	from do	140	
"	300	220	500	6	Grand River	from Kekalemazo	30	
"	20	12	25	1	Maskego	to Grand River	12	
"	60	40	87	3	White River	from do do	6	
"	12	8	20	1	Dead mans Creek	do do	30	Major Puthuff
"	8	6	15	1	River au Sable	do do	12	
"	8	5	14	1	Manester	do do	20	
"	200	150	400	3	Grand Traverse	do do	75	
"	400	300	800	10	L'arbre Croche	do do	18	

1818: NEWS FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 4B66.]

FORT CRAWFORD 26th April '18

DR. LAWE—You are the most Silent man upon earth, why the devil do not you write to me, and why did you not come to the Prairie last fall as you promised. You did wrong if you Supposed for a moment that those who professed themselves your friends at Green Bay, would have forgotten you here, on the contrary we would have been most glad to have seen you I am not enabled, now, to give you any satisfactory news. It is said that an act of Congress has been passed last session excluding British traders from participating in the American trade. I believe that it is matter of fact. I apprise you of this in order that you may take measures accordingly. I shall (it is also said) be shortly promoted to the command of these upper posts. If so, command my utmost Services, it will afforded me the highest Satisfaction to promote your views, consistent with my duty—therefore do not fail to write me, unreservedly.

Your friend Dickson is here, he arrived rather in distress, in consequence of his Sufferings in the Indian country, but we have cheered his Spirits, he says he would be glad now to touch a little of youd old gin, in fact he touches as high as ever, and looks equally as well as I have ever seen him. But he must go to Saint Louis, to respond for an infraction of the Indian law, of which he will be acquitted, for necessity has no law.

Write by return of Mr. Rouse,[35] tender my compliments to your little family and believe in the sincere professions of your friend

T. CHAMBERS

Note. Your friend Captain OFallan is about resigning.

---

[35] Louis Rouse is noted in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 476, note 97.—ED.

there is no one here, you know, but Armstrong[36] who is well and sends his Comp[s].

To Mr. John Lawe Green Bay Mr. Rouse
Endorsed: 1818 from Col. T. Chambers no answer

1818: A TRADER'S TRIBULATIONS

[Source, same as preceding document. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., Martin Papers.]

MONTREAL 1st. May 1818

MY DEAR JOHN—I rec[d] yours last night Dated from the Bay 21st. Feb[y]. which I think came very quick indeed I am quite Miserable at the picture of distress you paint to me of the returns; but am happy at the same time to think that you have had better accounts of James Aird then I had reason to expect from the description I had of his Conduct last fall I am much afraid that Rolette will have great influence over him when at Prairie du Chien. I cannot conceive what Motive but the worst of ones could have induced him to have refused giving you up your Note; *a Note you never owed him* and *that* he Knows well. You must do your utmost and by any means to get it back this Spring you do not mention one word respecting Lockwood weither he succeeded getting to his wintering Ground & if he got an Interpreter. It is my intention that you must make a strong effort to get the Followines up to the upper Part of the Mississipii or the Red River this Year. you must try & prepare them for it; I re[d] a letter a few days ago from M[r]. Stone saying he intended taking up 4 or 5 Young Men to Mackinac this spring which will serve to take out the Goods as Americans & which surely the American officers can have no objection to. all the Government accounts Contracted by Colonel Chambers are suspended & he is orderd to Washington to explain

---

[36] John O'Fallon, for whom see *Ibid*, p. 439, note 69.

Lieut. William Armstrong, later captain of the Rifles. In 1821 he was transferred to the 6th infantry, and in 1827 died.—ED.

them to them; from what I heard I believe he as well as many other of the officers will be called to an account for there past Conduct to the people in the Mississipii & others, I send off my two Boats tomorrow Morning. My Men are now all at my house & I am feeding them at my own Expense. I have 20 odd winterers surely you will have enough to pick & Choose owing to the Government accounts not having been Paid I shall owe a large sum of Money here payable next October & which must be paid here For God sake Contract no acc^{ts}. payable at Makinac for I do not know where the Money is to come from since you say the prospects are so very bad for returns; I have ordered neither Tobacco or Provisions of any Kind as I prefer depending on the Makinac Market as we can get them at a Years Credit there; we still owe Levy for the Tobacco that he sent to me on Commission last Year which you of course took out except what was sold to Coursoll. I think this will be the last Year I shall take up goods to Makinac therefore we must make an effort to make good returns by getting the Followines up. it must be done or I see no other prospect but sinking. I am still in hopes that Providence will throw something in our way for a future Year. But we will talk over those Matters when we Meet at Makinac; should you have Provisions bring them into Makinac as we have none there; I have written you three letters previous to this one this Winter. try & Keep James Aird with you at the Bay untill you come in yourself: I write this by M^{r}. Crooks who leaves this tomorrow & has promised to forward it to you so that you may [get] it early. he has never said one word to me on the subject you mentioned & he spoke to you about; which is strange to me I hope next year to have reason to be in better spirrits for I assure you my Circumstances has made me feel most wretched; your Aunt & Jessy Joins me in love to you the former will write you by me, I am Dear John your loving Affectionate Uncle

Jacob Franks

1818: REPORT FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN FACTORY

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 25.]

OFFICE OF INDN TRADE May 6 1818.

John W. Johnson Esqr P du chien.

SIR—Your returns for the quarter year ending Decr 31st have been received. on examination I find that you state the gross gain of the establishment for that quarter to be $5,796.90. from which deduct the amt. of the factory buildings first entered in this quarter $4098—which gives the gross gain *in trade* this quarter $1698.90.

It appears that the sales were as follows.

Bartered for Furs etc cost	873.55	per	$2144.08	gain	$1330.53
Articles had by yourself and asst.....	225.02	"	259.26	"	34.24
Indian Dept estimated cost	18.37	"	36.75	"	18.37
Contingent a/c estimated cost	211.22	"	316.84	"	105.62
had by interpreter estimated cost	42.09	"	71.39	"	29.30
Sold for cash estimated cost	1698.90	"	1974.39	"	180.84

It appears by this statement that the Merchandise bartered was at an average of 145 p% advance on the cost while that sold for cash was at an advance of about 10 p% only but on examining your cash book the goods appear to be put at the usual advance say 50 p% or upwards. It is for you, Sir, to explain this difference.

It would be much better to state in all cases the price of the goods sold, (which you will please to do hereafter) which would enable me to see at once the state of your trade, and what articles were most suitable.

* * * * * * * *

Respectfully etc

T. L. McK[ENNY]. *S. I. T.*

1818: PASSPORT FOR AMERICAN FUR COMPANY'S AGENT

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 203, Letter Book 2, p. 388.]

To all to whom it may concern.

Be it Known, that the bearer hereof Ramsay Crooks Esqr. Agent of the American Fur Company has permission to pass through the Ind: Country with the ordinary number of men necessary to his journey from Michillimackinac by Green Bay and Prairie du Chien to St. Louis, and to return by the same route, and that I have been particularly instructed by the War department to afford to the Agents of that Company every facility in my power consistent with the laws and the regulations. This pass will continue in force during the year 1818 and is not intended to confer on Mr. Crooks or the party with him any right whatever to trade with the Indians. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand at Detroit this 7. May 1818

[Lewis Cass]

Gov. of Michigan Territory and Superintendant of Indian Affairs upon the N. Western frontier of the U. S.

Endorsed: By the Govr. and Supt. Secy In. Dept.

1818: EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C24.]

Mackinac May 10th 1818

Dear Sir—This letter[37] arrvd at Drumonds Island on 4th April with Positiv Instruction from Mr. Franck to Forward with all Posibell Speed this being the first oper[unity] I hope it will Rech you Safe there Is a report that British Subjects are totaly Excluded but I presume there will be Some other aranj-

[37] Probably the antecedent letter of Franks, dated March 11, 1818. See *ante*, pp. 34–36.—Ed.

ment that Is Expecting with[out] doubt that J. J. Astor & D. Stone will have Intrest Suficent to mack Sum Satisfactory arangements. I have Not herd anything of the Prise of Peltries you will have the Goodness to Spare me a part of gardens [se]eds as we have not Got a solitary one have the Goodness to Remember me to, M^r. Porlier the Mess^r Grignon Powell Gournoe Jacobs and all others Inquiring frends I am with Respect yours

MICHAEL DOUSMAN[38]

N. B. A few Bushels of Peas would be wanted for Sed If you can procure them. I have Taken the Libberty of Sending you one Chest of Hison Tea Marckt D. S. & Co. as I presume that Article [is] want[ed] Prinsaply with the Gentlemen whom Deal with me.

M. D.

Mr. John Law Green Bay pr Capt Barnes

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 203, Letter Book 2, p. 403.]

GREEN BAY 16, May 1818

Sir—Your letter of the 22d, January 1818 by the way of Chicago has been received and the contents, duly considered.

As the President has determined that the trade of foreigners, with the Indians living in the United States shall cease, it now becomes necessary that I should be well informed, in which situation the people living at Green Bay are to be considered, they have without an exception declared themselves British Subjects and continue to this day to declare themselves as such, Mr. John Lawe, The Grignons, Mr. Porleur and others have a number of engagees in their service who are all british subjects. The principals as well as the engagees are married to Indian Women, and by this connection their influence with the In-

[38] For a sketch of Michael Dousman see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 506, note 42.—ED.

dians is unbounded, and if they are suffered to remain here as British Subjects, the laws prohibiting Foreigners to trade with the Indians living in the United States will have no effect in correcting the abuses that have taken place in this Agency; as the Indians will receive the same supplies of goods from the British Subjects living at Green Bay as they did when these people were licenced to trade with them and the greatest part of the Indian trade will be carried on, by the British subjects, through their Indian relations. I am fully possessed of the opinion the British Subjects must be removed from this place or immediately become American Citizens. The first I believe would be the proper course to pursue, particularly with the engagees and the Lower Class of the French who will always be tools for those who employ them, and through them the British influence will be kept up with the Indians in this quarter, the british Traders and the unprincipled Americans who resort to this place, purchase with Whiskey the greatest part of the peltry that is brought in, and as the Introduction of Spirits into the hunting ground in this Agency has in a great measure been stopped (except in the Bay where large supplies are sent by the traders at Mackinac Spring and fall) a large portion of the peltry is sold at this place for Spirits and the Indians kept in a continual state of intoxication, and this will forever be the case so long as spirits are suffered to be landed and Sold at Green Bay, these facts I well know, but It would be impossible to establish them in a Court of law.

From this statement I hope you will see the necessity that I should without delay receive instructions respecting the British Subjects living at Green Bay, and on Indian Affairs generally, that I may perform the duties of Indian Agent without committing myself, as I have neither the laws of the United States, or a legal Character to consult, when difficulties arise which I apprehend will be often the case until some fixed principles are established, I fear I shall commit errors that may give me some trouble and perplexity. I therefore request you will be so good as to forward to me as soon as convenient, such

Instructions that will enable me to meet the wishes of the executive. I am Sir Very respectfully Yo. Ob. Servt.

JOHN BOWYER
Indian Agent.

His Excellency Lewis Cass Governor of M. Territory.

1818: PRAIRIE DU CHIEN FACTORY

[Source, same as preceding document, but Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 69.]

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE GEO: TOWN June 24th. 1818.

To John W. Johnson Prairie du chien

SIR—Your returns for the quarter ending the 31st. March last, together with your letter of that date; and also one of the 25th. April, together with one from Mr. Belt of the fourth May, from Fort Edwards, are received.

* * * * * * * *

You state a gross Gain of $678.30—and salaries and contingencies $965.85—thus shewing a nett loss of 237.55$—On examination of your Journal and Cash Book, it appears that you sold as follows:

What sold or barter'd for	sold for	Cost of Goods	Profit
Furs and Peltries	$913.74	$463.63¼	450.10¾
Indian Matts	6.	2.30	3.70
Wax, Tallow etc.	25.55	13.19	12.36
Corn	18.75	9.81	8.94
Feathers	9.37½	2.45	6.92½
Indian Curiosities	4.00	1.05½	2.94½
Had by Yourself	110.97¼	96.49¾	14.47½
" R. B. Belt	47.02	40.89	6.13
" Interpreter	23.91¾	14.34¾	9.57
Paid on contingent a/c in Merchandize	201.08	120.20½	80.87½
	$1360.40½	$764.37¾	$596.02¼
For Cash	1687.60	Cost not stated	82.27¼
	$3048.00½	$764.37¾	$678.29½

Courtesy of Missouri Historical Society From an old print]

THE ORIGINAL FORT CRAWFORD, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

This fort, facing the Mississippi River, and near the present Dousman residence, was built in 1816 on a mound occupied by the Americans in 1814. In 1831 the fort was rebuilt on another site within the village. From Missouri Hist. Soc. *Collections*, iii, p. 118

Hence, whenever you state the cost of the Goods, you show an advance of 79 pct.[per cent] but on the $1687.60 sold *for cash*, you made only $82.27¼—which is 74 pct. less than the profit made on articles, the cost of which you enumerate Why is it that you make so little on what you sell for cash compared with your *barter* sales? The prices it is presumed got in both cases, are the same.

* * * * * * * *

I have no reason on earth to question your devotion to the duties of your station. I believe you have a warm interest in the large concern entrusted to your care; but no devotion however ardent can remedy the confusion which incorrect books and accounts must first or last produce.

* * * * * * * *

Continue to do your duty in the prosecution of the trade entrusted to you—no matter how many enemies you make—no man ever yet lost any thing by doing his duty.

You shall have good goods always when it is possible to command them—as you will find this spring's supplies—and no other kind shall go to you, than such as you may name, as your knowledge must be best, as to the description, you being upon the spot.

* * * * * * * *

Respectfully etc
T. L. McK[enny]
S. I. T.

1818: PASSPORT FOR ROLETTE

Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 21.]

Detroit July 30th. 1818

Sir—Accompanying this I have the honour to transmit you the copy of a passport, which I have granted to Joseph Rolette to return to Prairie du Chien.

The circumstances of his case are shortly these. He has

lived at that place fourteen years, has a family and considerable landed property there. He is a British subject and after the reduction of this Country in 1812, he joined the British troops and continued in their interest until the termination of the War. Since that time he has lived at that place.

By order of Col. Chambers, a copy of which I enclose, he has been ordered from there.

The reasons, which induced, Col. Chambers to issue this order, I neither investigate myself nor intend to trouble you with. Such a proceeding in his absence would be ex parte. They were undoubtedly such as to produce in his mind a conviction of the propriety of preceeding to adopt the means which has led to this application.

The subject, as it strikes me, is very simple. The settlement of Prairie du Chien is or is not Indian Country. If the latter, no Military Officer has a right to exercise any jurisdiction over a Citizen, much less to inflict upon him the punishment of banishment. If the former, the Indian Agent is the proper person to determine who shall enter and remain in the Country.

I understand, that at Prairie du Chien there are about 600 and at Green Bay 450 inhabitants. So far as respects the right of soil and jurisdiction both places are in the same situation. At each was many years since a french post, and the settlements were commenced by Canadians. In none of our treaties with the Indians is there an express recognition of the extinction of their title to either. But Waynes treaty contains a provision that the post of Detroit and all the land to the North, the West, and the South of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or British Governments shall be ceded to the United States.

There is no doubt but the land at both these places was thus granted, although no documentary evidence of it can be produced. It is understood that in procuring cessions of Indian land, the French Government in this Country pursued a plan different from ours. Instead of holding treaties for that purpose, they merely assembled the Chiefs, and informed them

that such a spot was wanted and gave them such presents as they thought fit.

In this way I presume the Indian title to the Country about Green Bay, and Prairie du Chien was extinguished and the importance of those places, commanding the avenues of communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi, the period at which the settlements were formed, and the establishment of Military posts there, justify this opinion. I enclose the copy of a letter from Major Puthuff, the acting Indian Agent at Michillimackinac respecting the difficulties which traders regularly licensed, under the instructions of the War Department have experienced in passing Prairie du Chien. This letter together with the representations of Mr. Astor proves the existence of a state of things at that place, resulting undoubtedly from an erroneous construction of the law, which cannot be too soon changed, and which can be changed effectually by the interposition of the Government only.

Licences granted by virtue of the Act of Congress passed April 29th. 1816 entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act passed the thirtieth of March 1802 to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers," and of the instructions of the President in conformity thereto, extend to any part of the Indian Country and cannot be impeded in their operation without impeding the operation of the laws. Very Respectfully, Sir, I have the honour to be Yo. Obt. Servt

[Lewis Cass]

Hon. J. C. Calhoun Secretary of War

(Copy of Passport)

Permission is hereby granted to [Joseph] Rolette to return to his family and property at Prairie du Chien, and there to remain, conducting himself in a legal and proper manner, until the decision of the Secretary of War in his case shall be made known.

But this permit is not intended to confer upon Mr. Rolette any right to trade. His application for that purpose must be made to the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, who in granting or refusing it must be guided by the Acts of Congress and the instructions he has received from the War Department.

Given under my hand at Detroit this 31st. day of July 1818

1818: DEFENSE OF FACTOR AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 85.]

Indian Trade Office George Town 17 July 1818

The Honbe. The Secretary of War

Sir—I have the honor to return the letters from Mr. Boilvoin[39] with a perusal of which I have been favored, and which came to me under cover from the War Department with a request to return them after they were read.

It is certainly due to Mr. Johnson the Factor; to the Government, and I may add to the Indians themselves that such statements be explained to you. It would be tedious to copy all the correspondence that has taken place between Mr. Johnson at Prairie du-Chien and myself on

1st. The great extent of the licence system and the evils it has carried in among the Indians.

2d. The means to lesson the power of private traders generaly British, or British agents, who were doing immense injury, and promoting the destruction even of our Citizens, whose scalps were bought and sold in the village of Prairie du Chien, and strung on poles, and carried in triumph to Mackinac in 1816.

---

[39] For a sketch of Nicolas Boilvin, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien until 1827, see *Id*, xix, p. 314, note 51. The controversy between him and the factor Johnson appears to have had its source in the difference of their nationalities and social relations.—Ed.

3d. Mr. Boilvoins own agency in aiding these very people with Whiskey—especially Rolette, whose family resides at Prairie du Chien, and who is a principal trader; and with whom it should seem Mr. Boilvoin is upon terms of particular intimacy.

4th. The measures necessary to break down this power and this influence.

The multitude of Traders, British, and all other sorts made a sort of wall about the factory, few Indians could get to it. The principles emenating from it which are enlyghtining and humane, and which all tend to attach the natives to our Govt. could not operate. For so active, so numerous, and so powerful were these traders, that the Indian hunting grounds were infested and their spoils were bought up in their green state sooner than chances should be allowed them to reach the factory.

Under this state of things Mr. Johnson begged permission to select judicious and well known Men of honesty and Americans, to go out and sell goods at factory prices, and use their influence to encourage the Indians to come in and be regular in their trade. I sanctioned the measure, with certain restrictions in a letter of 25 June 1817—thus[40]

With this measure I was additionally induced to comply, on a request from the Fox Indians who work the Lead mines to be thus served.

---

[40] See original of this letter in *Ibid*, p. 463.—Ed.

"It will be necessary for you to use extreme caution in trusting out goods to traders. Boats may get upset, as in the case of Dorion—and even if like him they should escape being drowned, the Tommahawk may put them to rest—and releive you from the trouble of counting their returns. The very fact you mention—viz the difficulty of traders giving security must render their access to the credit of the factory more difficult. I wish you nevertheless to have all the chances that such aids can afford you—and authorize you to let out to discreet and honest men on the best security you can obtain; goods to limited amounts, to no one trader more than might be deemed a reasonable amount not to be repeated 'till he settles for them, when he is to have more."

The result has been an encrease of factory business—peace with and among the Indians, *and a failure in the plans of these Private adventurers.* In the last may be found the reason of Mr. Boilvoins complaints, who stands charged in 1817 by Mr. Johnson with a conduct touching this subject which led me to require it of Mr. Johnson to report the facts to the Governor of the Illinois Territory. This was directed in my letter of 10 May 1817, in these words[41]

"you will lodge your complaint against N. Boilvoin, to the Governor of the Illinois Territory, and if on your statement The Governor can be satisfied of the impropriety of his conduct, on such representations being made to the War Department, by the Governor, Boilvoin will be removed; or any other man who can be fairly committed for any violation of the laws regulating trade with, or for the better government of the Indian Tribes. Be vigilant in your efforts to detect individuals who regardless of their duty, and of justice, go forth to peculate upon the already too impoverished and miserable Indians, and make your reports direct to the Governor of the Illinois territory, sending me copies of all your communications."

If time would permit it; and your avocations could endure it, I would give you a history of things that would throw much light on the present conflict which I perceive to be encreasing of late, amongst the Private traders, and against the Government agencies. I am always at your service when this exhibition may be deemed necessary in fixing the final destiny of our Indian policy. I am etc etc etc

T. L. McK[enny]

1818: FACTORS TO AID IN EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 93, 94.]

Office Indian Trade George Town 3d. August 1818

To Mathew Irwin Esq Green Bay

Sir—I enclose you herewith a copy of a letter addressed by the War Department to His Excelly Gov: Cass. My object in

[41] See entire letter in *Ibid*, p. 459.—Ed.

furnishing you with this copy is that you may be able to aid the agency by your vigilance in detecting any movements amongst the traders contrary thereto—as it is presumed some frauds will be practised upon his Excellency even in his best exertions to prevent them.

Whenever you detect any person or persons, engaged in trade who are shut out by this letter you will report him or them immediately to the Governor, or the Sub agent, sending me copies of your letters.

You will perceive Sir that foreigners who are odious to our Citizens, on account of their activity or cruelty in the late War, are *positively excluded,* from all intercourse and in every capacity.

These regulations will, I trust, enable you to prosecute the liberal policy of the Government towards the Indians with advantage to them; and success to your Factory. I am etc etc

T. L. McK[ENNEY].

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE GEORGE TOWN 7th. Aug: 1818

John W. Johnson Esq U. S. Factor

SIR—I enclose, with a view to possess you of the Government policy, which will be made to apply, if necessary, in other parts, as well as in the Michigan Territory, a letter from the Honbe The Secretary of War to Gov: Cass.

I wish you to possess me of the existence of any abuses, coming within the limits of this letter, and especially whether there be any traders amongst your Indians odious to our Citizens on account of their hostility, during the late War—and who they are? where and by whom licenced? and with whom connected in trade? Let all the information you impart be founded upon good evidence.

If such a thing be possible, it is the determination of the Government to remedy the evils that have grown out of the irregular intercourse with the Indians, and to do away abuses, a knowledge of the existence of which, is becoming pretty general.

The factories being established with the two fold view of serving the Indians with things necessary for them, and to conciliate by good councils, and attach them to the United States and the Interests of the Govt. whatever may be said or done tending to counteract these views, is in violation of the Govt. design, and ought be made known so that the party who may feel authorised to disturb the kind policy of the Govt. may be looked after, no matter what his calling or station may be. Information embracing such, cannot come with so much certainty and propriety from any persons, as from those who are charged with the execution of the Government design: because they feel more immediately the effects of the hostility; and can come more readily at the sources whence it proceeds.

You will therefore not fail to embody against any violation of the rules of the enclosed letter, all the direct evidence you can get, and transmit it to me. This will be not only preserving the Indians, but defending them also. For all such Individuals will be made subjects of a Government scrutiny. I am etc etc

T. L. McK[enney].

1818: ADVANTAGES OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Miscellaneous Files, 1801–24.]

Office of Indian Trade George Town 19th. August 1818

To The Honbl. John C. Calhoun Secretary of War,

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th. Inst., containing a transcript of the resolution of the House of Representatives "directing you to report to them at the next session, a system providing for the abolition of the existing Indian Trading Establishments of the United States; and providing for the opening of the trade with the Indians to individuals under suitable regulations,"[42] also your

[42] The resolution here referred to passed the House April 4, 1818. Secretary of War Calhoun made Jan. 15, 1819, a report based on McKenney's arguments, adverse to the abolition of the factory system. See *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, p. 181.—Ed.

direction to me to "report to the Department of War, my opinion of the best mode of bringing to a termination the existing Indian Trading establishments; and such facts, and ideas, as I may think important in relation to opening the trade with the Indians to Individuals, under suitable regulations."

In reply, I have the honor to state, that the existing Indian Trading establishment might be terminated by withholding every description of supplies from the Factories, and directing the Factors to close their business, by a sale of the Merchandize and effects on hand: or, by an order, immediately to suspend all intercourse with the Indians, and transport the stocks on hand, to the nearest and most favorable points, and dispose of them at public auction upon such terms as could be commanded: or, by authorizing each Factor to sell the entire stock and furniture, of the establishment entrusted to him upon the best terms he could realize, due notice of such intention being first given: or, by an exhibition at this office, of Inventories of the stocks of all the Factories for the quarter immediately preceding, when the same might be inspected, under a public notice, given to that effect, accompanied by an offer of the whole stock in trade, either by public auction, or upon stipulated terms. Of the several modes referred to, my opinion is, the last mentioned, embracing a stipulation as to cost, and the time, or times of payment, is "the best." It is the best, because,

First. It is summary in its process, and involves no consideration, either of loss, or delay.

Second. The details of the sale could be so made as to provide for the continuance of the system until it should change hands, without the interruptions to which any other mode would make it liable; and thus keep within reach of the Indians, without any suspension of the means, those articles of necessity, for which they depend, mainly, upon the United States Trading houses. The proceeds of the sale, when completed, would, of course, be paid over to the Treasury, to reimburse its issues under the several appropriations for carrying on trade with the Indians.

But *whatever* mode may be adopted for abolishing the United States trading Houses, there will remain a reconcilement to be brought about, in the stipulations of an existing treaty, made and concluded on the 10th. November 1808, between the United States and the Great and Little Osage tribes of Indians, and that new order of things. By the Second article of that treaty the United States "engage to establish at Fort Clark, and *permanently to continue* at all seasons of the year, a well assorted store of goods, for the purpose of bartering with the Great and Little Osage, on *moderate terms,* for their Peltries and Furs."

It is true, the Government, in any disposition which it may think proper to make of the Factories, and of its present system of intercourse with those Indians, could stipulate with the purchasers to make good so much of the obligation as relates to the perpetual continuance of the Store, but it would not be so easy, it is presumed, to provide for the continuance of the *"moderate terms"* on which it has engaged the goods shall be furnished. Or, if both could be provided for, it does not require even so much as the experiment of a trial, to ascertain the sense in which the Chiefs and head Men of the Osage Indians, understand this article, that having been expressed by them in the year 1813 (see paper marked A). If a change in the existing relations be made, therefore, at all, it is already ascertained that it must involve, in relation to the Osage Indians a violation of the 2d. article of the Treaty referred to, so far at least as their opinion of its intention applies. And how far a compulsory change, in the existing relations with those Indians may accord with the importance which certainly attaches to a preservation of the public faith, will be a matter for the decision of Congress.

How far the other Tribes, who, altho' not entrenched behind the provisions of a treaty, may be inclined to conceive well of a change which involves, necessarily, the overthrow of the existing benevolent system, to the value of which they are by no means insensible, and an abandonment of their commercial in-

tercourse into hands whose sole inducement to undertake its prosecution is *gain,* it is no very difficult matter to foresee, especially as the principal tribes have in one way or another, either by direct communications made on the subject, or in person, during their visits to the Government, expressed their most earnest desire for the continuance of the Factories, and begged to be saved from the consequences which seldom fail of following in the train of private adventurers.

Judging of the future, by the past, there are abundant reasons to justify the conclusion that a withdrawal of the existing Government system would be attended with consequences serious in their application as well to the Indians as to our frontier Citizens, and but little doubt can be entertained that the whole system of reform, which has not ceased to command the respect and attention of our Government from its earliest history; and which now, in relation to several tribes, has advanced far beyond any former attainments, would tumble into ruins, and blast, at once, the happiness of thousands of Indians who now enjoy its benefits; and the hopes of those generous Citizens who are so resolutely bent on its enlargement.

The existing Government system has its foundation in *benevolence,* and *reform.* Those are the two pillars, on which it rests. The Factors employed by the United States do not go to supply the more helpless parts of our Family with articles necessary for their support and security against the elements, and upon terms that embrace no more than a preservation of the capital employed, only, but also with implements of husbandry; with suitable instructions how to use them; and with invitations to seek their support from the Earth, and exchange, for her certain compensation, the uncertain products of the chase. The instructions [to] the Factors also, direct them to cultivate among the Indians a regard for, and attachment to our Government and Country.

However inefficient much of this may have proved in its application to some of the more excluded and remote tribes, yet evidences exist, in abundance, to shew that all this good design is not lost; and that but for its workings, savagism would

characterise, and deform; and desolation would brood over minds, over which civilization and social life, and the principles of improvement, have a fixed and permanent controul.

I am at a loss to conceive what regulations could be adopted, in a provision for the opening of the trade with the Indians to Individuals, which should preserve both, or either of the two features which so prominently distinguish the Government system. Whatever restrictions might be attempted to force private enterprize within the demands of benevolence, I apprehend they would all prove of no avail. The object of private enterprize is proclaimed in the undertaking. A trader no sooner resolves on a commencement of his career than he fixes his eye upon the object in view; and that object is *gain*—and so far as my information extends I have never detected any evidence going to shew the least unwillingness on the part of the private adventurer to adopt any resort that should promise to favor his scheme of profit. All methods appear to be alike convenient; and are adopted, or rejected, as they may seem most likely to favor, or oppose, his hopes.

It is well known that to the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst the Indians may be attributed a vast majority of those excitements which so often break out into acts of hostility, sometimes involving the almost total extinction of the tribes arrayed against each other; not unfrequently blasting the hopes of our frontier Citizens, and deluging their distant and otherwise peacefull homes with blood. But this comes not of the Government policy. The distribution of this article is not permitted.

Experience has demonstrated how inefficient are the most promising regulations, when they are intended to govern Men bent upon such enterprizes; and especially when the means of evading the agents whose duty it is made to enforce them, are so numerous; and when the opportunities of escape and security are rendered so certain by the unsearchable intricacies of the surrounding Forests.

Of the article of whiskey, to prevent the introduction of which into the Indian Country, and its distribution amongst

the Indians, so much labor has been so unsuccessfully bestowed, no less than forty Barrels have been traced in one season, to an entrance at Green Bay; and as many as five thousand pounds of Lead are known to have been secured from the Sac and Fox Indians, in one interview, by those who use this article as a means of traffic, without the Indians receiving for their toils a *solitary renumeration beside.*

So far, therefore, as private, or individual intercourse is concerned,—and such is its history from the beginning,—there can be perceived in it no one trait which distinguishes it on account of its benevolence, and as to reform, it would be useless to illustrate the consequences which result from the sort of intercourse referred to: Any thing, and every thing, but reform must attend upon it.

But the Indian Tribes are not only worried and excited by the conflicting interests of Men whose sole object is gain, and whose chief instrument of competition is that very article which is most pernicious; and which by its inflaming tendency disturbs the tranquility of the forests, and rouses into action the worst passions of their inhabitants, and of which unfortunately the Indians are too fond, but exactions of the most extravegant character are practised by Individuals wherever the means do not exist to make the Indians independent of their supplies. This fact is proved from a variety of sources, in a general way, and has been particularly specified by an intelligent Gentleman now in the north, whose letter dated December 1816 after stating the pleasure manifested by the Indians, at the opening of the Green Bay factory, and their gratification at the cheapness of the goods, added, on their own authority, that "they had been obliged to pay, in skins, *Fifteen Dollars for a pound of Tobacco; and one Dollar and an half for a thimble!*"

I know it has been assumed that a destruction of the existing Government system would open the way to the enterprising Citizens of our Country, to participate in the benefits of a trade which could be made generally valuable to them, whilst it is of no particular advantage to the Government; but who are excluded from the benefits which their enterprise would secure

to them by the overgrown capacity of the United States Trading establishment.

So far as the admission of Individuals into the Indian Country is concerned, It would be impossible, even under an abandonment of the Government system, (unless indeed all legal provisions were dispensed with,) to make a more ready way for them into the Indian Country than is secured to them by the existing law, and so generally do they seem to have availed themselves of its latitude that from every quarter their numbers are represented as beyond all former example. The whole Country, from Michilimackinac, to Prarie du Chien, and thence on to the Missouri, is said literally "to swarm" with them. In fact those whose duty it is to licence applicants are left, by the looseness of the law, without option, even in the most important point of *fitness of character*—hence all descriptions of persons, applying, and conforming to the required regulations, which are within reach of any body, find an unobstructed way into the Indian Country.

It should seem, therefore, that so far as the admission of Individuals, into the privilege to trade with the Indians, is concerned, they can turn their enterprize into that channel, at pleasure. The only difficulty appears, then, to be, the alledged capacity of the United States Trading Establishment, (which difficulty may be found more readily in *the principles that govern it,* than in its capacity which has always been too limited) to serve the Indians upon terms more advantageous than those who enter into the competition appear willing, to adopt. It is very certain, therefore, that an overthrow of the existing Government system would prove favorable to the individual enterprize; but, it is not less certain, that it would be, in the same proportion, unfavourable to the Indians.

It is submitted, under this view of the subject, whether, before the abolition of the United States trading establishment be determined upon, it is not incumbent on those who seek an enjoyment of this covetted privilege, to demonstrate, that none of the consequences which have been referred to as arising exclusively out of individual intercourse, would ensue? whether

it ought not to be made appear beyond the possibility of doubt, that their trade, and intercourse would be, at least, equally favorable, and equally beneficial to the Indians, and in every particular; and to the full as safe in their relation to our frontier inhabitants, as are the trade, and intercourse carried on with them, by the United States? In a word, whether it would not be proper, that no change in our existing relations should be sanctioned by the Government, that could tend in any one particular, to render the condition of the Indians more distressing than it is? Unless this could be insured, and its certainty made more undoubted than any experience hitherto had upon the subject, can, in my opinion, warrant the Government in admitting, would not an abandonment of the present United States policy seem to carry along with it, not only an indifference to the condition of our Indians, bad as it is admitted to be, and loudly as it calls for help, but also, a willingness that it should be made worse, even, than it is? And if this helpless and less improved portion of our great American family, who are, it should seem, specially placed under the protecting care of our Government, within whose boundaries they range; and to which they are held accountable for their misdoings, be thrown beyond the limits of its *special agency,* and benevolent attentions, where shall they find a protector, or guide? It is argued, again, that if Individuals were permitted to enter freely into the Indian Country, and the present capital employed by the Government were withdrawn, so many agencies would take the place of it, as to create a competition, favorable to the Indians.

Competition is certainly an engine of protection to the consumer; and without it, in relation to almost any other sort of intercourse, than that under consideration, it ought to be promoted. But an exception may be fairly taken to its application to the present question, because no competition, it is presumed, however active, could insure to the Indians, their supplies upon terms even *as good* as those on which they are furnished by the United States, whose policy is prescribed by a law which directs that the profits on the original cost of the

articles, shall be no more than to preserve from diminution, the capital employed. Nor would the competitors in this great wilderness-market, it is presumed, be willing to receive as much, in addition to this, as the United States law *ought* to authorize, say six or Eight per Cent, with a view to cover the losses, and damage to which an intercourse so distant, and so difficult is liable.

Even, however, if Individuals should agree to receive no more than such an advance, taking into the estimate the chance of profit on the Furs and Peltries received in barter, and which is the only source on which the United States can count on *any* profit, yet it will scarcely admit of doubt that the idea of competition, and general participation, would be soon *swallowed* up in *one vast engine of monopoly,* which, in its workings, would defy, and soon force the Individual and smaller capatalists to seek employment for their capital where there were fewer chances of its being so completely useless.

If the entire capital of the South West company be not now in operation in this Country, there is good reason for believing that an amount, more than double that employed by the Government, is; and it is rendered almost certain that the present Capital employed by the United States, if withdrawn, would be immediately supplied, and vastly augmented, not, however, by individuals, on their own personal footing, but by a junction of a few, whose ability, it is as little to be doubted, would, very soon after the overthrow of the Government system, (should it be abolished,) have embodied, a sum, exceeding a million of Dollars, employment of which would secure to the parties interested, one great union of security and interests, to the exclusion of all others. It is believed that upwards of half a million of Dollars are invested in one stock already.

If, therefore, the object of the resolution of the House of Representatives be, to make amongst the Citizens of the United States a distribution of trading privileges; and if a system could be devised, and such regulations adopted as should infallibly secure to the Indians a continuance of their existing privileges, and means of improvement, and to our border popu-

lation an equal protection, there are too many reasons to believe that it would fail of its accomplishment. And if that should be the result, the idea of a privileged monopoly could not fail of having birth given to it, to get rid of which, might be more difficult, than it now is to ma[i]ntain the existing limited and shackled system; or to enlarge and disembarress it from the pressure brought in upon it by the loosseness of the law under which private traders are admitted—against which system, whatever other exceptions may be taken, there can be none brought that can apply against, either its benevolence, or its tendency to reform the Indians.

But whilst the resolution of the House of Representatives looks to an admission into the Indian Country, of those individuals who might be disposed to enter it, as traders, are there not many, who, although they might not be induced to hold intercourse with the Indians, in *that* way, yet, are much interested in a participation of the result of their hunting expeditions? I refer to the Mechanical parts of our Country who deal, and work in Furs. By the provisions of the 13th. Section of the "act for establishing Trading houses with the Indian Tribes"—approved 2d. March 1811, it is provided, that "the Superintendent of Indian Trade shall cause the Furs and Peltries, and other articles acquired in Trade with the Indian nations, to be sold at public auction, in different parts of the United States, or otherwise disposed of as may be deemed most advantageous to the United States." Alth'o by the terms *"otherwise disposed of,"* an authority is given to sell at *different places* in the United States; or at *one place;* or to *export* the articles acquired in Trade with the Indians, to foreign markets, yet, it having been considered so important to those who work in Furs and Peltries in our own Country and to our Citizens generally who are the consumers, to provide a market for those articles, *at home,* that in no instance except *one* (and that occurred twelve years ago) have they been exported.

But if the United States system be abolished, can there be any security provided against the exportation of those articles, except that which shall imply a price, at home, corresponding

to the price abroad? And if so, is it not to be apprehended, especially under the idea of a large union of capital, and of interests, that the cheif manager, or managers of this great traffic, will take care to realize those prices, and introduce upon the one hand, a scarcity; or bring upon our whole population, upon the other an advance on the price of all such articles as are made of Furs and Peltries?

From what has been advanced may be gathered "my opinion of the best mode of bringing to a termination the existing Indian Trading house establishment:" also, that the change cannot be consistently made as it applies to the Great and Little Osage tribes of Indians: That so far as the remaining Tribes are concerned, and also our frontier Citizens, their condition would not be bettered; but, jud[g]ing from the experience already had, must be rendered worse by its adoption: That the hopes which are entertained, as well by several tribes, as by those who are so generously engaged in promoting a social and moral improvement amongst them, derive considerable aid from the influence and councils emanating from the Government policy, and that those hopes at the moment of their highest promise would be endangered by its abandonment: That however beneficial such a change might prove to individuals who might enter upon the prosecution of Indian trade, in a pecuniary sense, there can be no reasons found, to justify its recognition, if it involve an enlargement of the range of poverty, and disease, and want, amongst the Indians, which would result, naturally, from excess, licentiousness, and undue exactions; or if their tranquility be involved in it, or their lives, or a waste of any portion of the public treasure to allay excitements, and wars: That the idea of Individuals being admitted under this change to a general participation of the trade, is fallacious, for the whole would, without doubt, resolve itself into one great system of monopoly, out of which would arise *a tax* upon our entire population: To all which might have been added, the involvement of the humanity and honor of the Country, which, (in the language of an intelligent Gentleman, conversant with Indian affairs, and intimately acquainted with

the methods resorted to by Individuals in their intercourse with the Indians) "the Traders care not to barter for a single skin."

I am aware that the resolution of the House of Representatives calls for a system, providing for the opening of the trade to Individuals, under, "*suitable* regulations." But I am aware also of the impractability, in my opinion, of framing *any* system, that shall be so "suitable" as to overrule the consequences to which I have referred.

The best system, in my opinion, that can be adopted, is the one which has been once tried and abandoned: And if the "existing Indian Trading establishments be abolished" I believe a revival of that system (with some variations and additions) will be found to contain as good a substance as any other. I refer to the regulations of 1786 which continued, I believe, until they were superceded by the existing arrangements.

The system referred to provided for a division of the Country into two Districts, No[r]thern and Southern—to each District was attached a Superintendent. The superintendent of the northern division was allowed two deputies, or assistants. The whole of the Indian relations was placed in their hands.

The regulations adopted were the following: "No person, Citizen or other, under the penalty of Five hundred Dollars, was permitted to reside among, or trade with any Indian, or Indian nation within the territories of the United States without a licence for that purpose, first obtained from the superintendent of the District, or one of the Deputies, who were directed to give such licence to *every person,* who should produce from the Supreme executive of any state, a certificate, under the seal of the state, that he is a good character, and suitably qualified and provided for that employment. For which licence he was to pay the sum of Fifty Dollars for the use of the United States. No license to trade with the Indians was permitted to be in force for a longer term than one year. Previous to any Person or Persons obtaining a licence to trade as of three thousand Dollars, to the superintendent of the District of three thousand Dollars, to the superintendent of the District for the use of the United States, for his or their strict adhere-

ance to, and observance of, such regulations and rules as the Congress might from time to time establish for the Government of the Indian Trade."

It was provided also that the Superintendents should bond, each in the sum of six thousand dollars; and the Deputies, or Assistants, in the sum of three thousand Dollars.

My opinion is the system would be improved by placeing the Indian concerns in the hands of one superintendent, instead of two. That he should be obliged before he entered upon the duties of his office, to bond to the United States with approved sureties in the sum of Ten thousand Dollars, and take an oath of office. He should have an Agent settled in each Tribe, unless it should be where the contiguity of Tribes would make one agent answer for more. Each agent should be required to bond to the United States with approved sureties in a similar sum with the superintendent, and take an oath of office. It should be made the duty of the Agents, in addition to the ordinary routine of holding treaties, and paying over annuities, and dispensing Presents, to keep the superintendent regularly, and constantly, and truely informed, of the state and disposition of the tribe, or tribes, within their respective agencies; and specially so, (and their oath of office ought to embrace this object,) in whatever should relate to any infringement of the law regulating trade with the Indian Tribes; and by whom. The penalty of a violation should involve the forfeiture of the traders' bond which should be given on his receiving his licence, in the sum of Five thousand Dollars; and a forfeiture of his licence, without the privilege of renewal. Licences to traders now employed in the Indian Country to be cancelled; and all interlopers or peddling traders, should be driven out, wherever they could be found. Any Person found trading six months from the passage of the law under the proposed system, without a licence, obtained under it, to forfeit his effects. No person to be licenced after the passage of the law who should not present to the superintendent, (whose duty it might be made to issue licences, and approve bonds) a certificate from the Cheif Executive of any state under the seal of the state that he is of good

character, and suitably qualified and provided for that employment. His bond, and sureties, also, to be presented and approved. For his licence, one hundred Dollars should be required: the licence, and the price of it to be renewed annually. The proceeds of which to be applied to reimburse the Treasury for the compensation paid out of it to the superintendent and the agents. Any trader neglecting to renew his licence, to forfeit five hundred dollars for the first year; and a thousand for the second, and in the same proportion each year till the fifth year, when his bond should be considered forfeited. *No Trader should be allowed the privilege to trade, under any circumstances, who would not select his spot, build his factory, and locate himself.*

No licence to any Individual or company to embrace more than one Factory. The name of the Factory of each to be inserted in each licence. *The vending of spirituous liquors to be prohibited under the severest penalty of the law.*

Those are the outlines of a system which appear to me to be more suitable than any that have occurred to me; and as being more likely than any other to provide against the abuses which are to be dreaded, even under their adoption. The Indians would still be the victims of a policy, the foundation of which could only be sustained by gain, and the difference to them would be vast indeed, between its workings, and the milder, and more humane system, whose principle features are *benevolence* and *reformation.*

All which is respectfully submitted

Tho. L. Mc. Kenney
S. I. T.

Endorsed: George Town 19 Aug. 1818. Thomas L. Mc.Kenny Esq. Report of Indian Affairs. Dec. 1818.

1818: LICENSES FOR GREEN BAY TRADERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C30.]

SANDWICH August 31, 1818

MY DEAR JOHN—I arrived here the 6th Day affter leaving you. I went to Mr. Woodbridge[43] & asked him for a Teritorial Licence for you he Said that as the Bay was a Neutral place not yet desided in which State[44] it would fall Licences could not be granted but that no man had any write to prevent you Selling your goods their nor no one could prevent you doing as you thought proper at your hous he thinks that we will obtain titles for our lands at La Bay he thinks that a Board of commissioners will be appointed for that purpose. the Taxes are taken off on Stills so that you may commence to destill when ever you please—but I think you would do better with your Flower for the crop has failed in this quarter entirely & I think if you could Send in one hundred Barrells of Flower to Mackinac you would meet with a quick Sail of it at 10 or 12 Dollars per Barrell but do as you think proper.

I met with Mr. Stewart the Collector[45] & paid him for the Duties on our goods last year 280 Dollars I Borrowed the Money from Mr Armentinger he thinks we will be paid by Government the a/c Due us enclosed is the 2 Mens engagements & what I paid for them each on the Bac of the engagements which you will charge them with

I think if the Grignons & Mr. Porlier & your Self were to make up a partnership for next year & get me to be the Supplier of the goods granting me £300 Yk C for my Trouble it

---

[43] William Woodbridge, secretary of Michigan Territory; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 453, note 79.—ED.

[44] Wisconsin was a part of Illinois Territory until the admission of the latter as a state, in 1818. It would appear that Woodbridge had not yet been apprised of its annexation to Michigan Territory. See *Id*, xi, p. 461.—ED.

[45] Adam D. Stewart of Virginia was collector at the port of Mackinac, 1818-32.—ED.

would be a good Business & it would Vex those people greately I shall Set off in the Morning on my way Down 3 of my packs got wet on Board of the Vessell but not to Injure them much I am going to leave 3 Bundles of Feathers at Mr. Macons to Sell for me & to pay Mrs. Dufrain for the Board of My little girll.

I Spoke to Mr. [Samuel] Abbot[46] to forward your letters & mine to you which he Says can be once a month from La Bay So do not fail to write me & let me know how your English men conducts them Selves in Short let me heare all the news in your Quarter & all the Information you can get from Prearie Du Chien & about our old friend James [Aird] Send me your order & let it be compleat but Send it verry Soon So that I may have time to get the things readey I have not contracted for pork or anything elce here as all is so verry high but we will Trust to the Mackinac market for what we Shall want in the provision way. I have left Mrs Mi[t]chells order with Mr Mack[47] to Send hir up all she has ordered by the first Vessell he has Some coming from Buffalow as their was not a Gallon of whiskey to be Bought in all Detroit flower 9 Dollars pr Barrell in Short the Crop has failed on Both Sides of the River. Adieu My Dear John believe me Truly your affectionate. Unckle till Death

J Franks

Mr John Lawe Green Bay

---

[46] See a sketch of Samuel Abbott in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 512, note 46.—Ed.

[47] Mrs. Mitchell is described in *Id*, xiv, pp. 35–38.

Col. Stephen Mack was a Detroit trader of the firm of Mack & Conant. Later he was the founder of the town of Pontiac, where he died in 1826.—Ed.

1818: FACTORIES SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 30.]

St Mary's Septr. 14, 1818

Sir—With a view to obtain correct information upon the subject of your letter of the 25th. of May last, and of the accompanying resolution of the House of Representatives, and to compare my own opinions with those of persons qualified by their situation and experience to judge correctly, I have delayed my answer till this time.

The resolution of the House of Representatives appears to contemplate the abolition of the present trading establishments of the United States among the Indians. My own experience and observation, and the opinions of all with whom I have conversed upon the subject are decidedly in favour of this abolition.

This system must have been originally introduced in consequence of our peculiar relations with the Indians, and from an impression that American Capital, and enterprize could not supply the demands of this trade, or that the Indians from the nature of it would be liable to imposition. I presume the public trading houses were never established with any view to pecuniary profit, nor that such a result would enter into an estimate of the advantages to be derived from them.

I know not what at the introduction of this system may have been the state of the American Capital employed in the Indian trade, or of the enterprize of those, in whom this Capital was vested. Nor do I know anything of the wants of the Western or Southern Indians or the probable means of supplying them. My own experience and information extend to the Indians in this section of the Union only, and to them I shall confine my observations upon this subject.

I have no hesitation in saying, that it is now as unnecessary for the Government of the United States to continue their trading houses upon this frontier, as to embark in any mercantile speculation whatever. A great abundance of American

Capital has been diverted into this channel, and it would be a reflection upon our national character to suppose, that enterprize could not be found to distribute this capital or skill to employ it. This trade requires no other impulse than a fair return of profits, and like all other branches of Commerce, if left without legal regulation, will regulate itself by the competition of those employed in it. The United States are satisfied to conduct their portion of it without loss, and so far as they supply the demand, the system operates to the injury of the private trade, and has a tendency to continue the present state of things.

The individual must look to the profits of his trade for the reward of his industry and enterprize, and for the use of the capital vested in it. It must be obvious therefore that the goods at the public trading establishments can be afforded cheaper, than they can be sold by private traders, and cheaper, than by any fair view of the trade they could be expected. Were the United States to enter into competition with individuals in any branch of foreign trade and to be satisfied with conducting that without loss, it would not be difficult to foresee the sensation, which would be excited, nor the individual injury, which would be the result.

The capital employed by Government in this quarter is so small, compared with the general amount of the trade, as to produce little effect. There are but three public trading houses upon this frontier one at Chicago, one at Green Bay, and one at Prairie du Chien. I have no means of ascertaining the quantity of goods which they annually sell, but I am certain it constitutes a very small portion of the amount, which enters and is sold in this extensive Country. Since the regulations which have been adopted by the President excluding foreign traders from entering the Indian Country, many enterprizing American Citizens have directed their capital and attention to this business. The island of Michillimackinac is the great entrepot for all goods destined to this part of the Indian Country. In the months of June and July, the Merchants embark[ed] in this trade and owning the Capital arrive upon

that Island to make arrangements with those whom they supply with goods to receive their outfits for the ensuing year and to deliver their returns for that which has past. It is a fact within my own knowledge, that a much larger quantity of goods, than were required for this trade were this season taken to that place, and have since been withdrawn. This fact I consider decisive as to the supply of this trade keeping pace with the demand. But such an occurrence was not necessary to produce this conviction upon my mind. Since my first acquaintance with Indian Affairs I have made this a subject of enquiry, and I have never doubted the result which is thus practically established.

Of the system upon which this trade is conducted, I know nothing. My knowledge of the amiable and intelligent Officer at the head of this branch of the public service and of the factors employed in this quarter, justifies the opinion, that all is done, for the publick interest, which zeal, intelligence and integrity can effect. But believing as I do that the system itself is radically incorrect I cannot but recommend its abolition.

I leave untouched the general question with respect to the propriety under any circumstances of converting the funds of the United States into a commercial capital and its Government into Mercantile adventurers. It is the practical operation only of these establishments upon our Citizens and upon the minds of the Indians, which I am to consider. These trading houses are known to belong to the United States. And the factors are known to be public agents, The reasons and motives, which led to their introduction are not understood nor appreciated. The Indians universally attribute them to a speculating disposition on the part of the Government. They believe, that goods are thus sent among them, for the same reason which induces individuals to embark in the trade. Invidious comparisons are introduced between our Government and the British Government, by whom such a system has never been adopted. It requires but little reflection to perceive the effect, which such ideas must have upon a rude, savage, unlettered people.

They are not in the habit of abstraction, and objects affect them, as they correspond with their own habits and prejudices.

All barter with them is for gain, and it is not to be expected that their ideas upon the subject can be easily changed, nor that they should assign a different motive to the public and private trader while their pursuits and objects are the same.

As I have no disposition to enter too much into detail upon this subject, I shall conclude this branch of it by observing that there is an ample stock of American Capital, skill and enterprize for all the demands of this trade, that the public trading establishments injure the private traders by bringing into competition with them in the Indian market a capital for the use and management of which no advance is required, and that they render the Government obnoxious and contemptible to the Indians.

The laws no[w] in force upon the subject of Indian trade require, that every person entering the Indian Country for the purpose of trading should receive a licence and give bond, conditioned for a faithful observance of the laws and such regulations as may be required by the officer granting the licence. This requisition appears to be effectual, so far as respects the entrance of traders into the Indian Country. Their remote stations however render it difficult to procure the necessary evidence to collect the penalty of the bond, in those cases where there has been a breach of its conditions.

I believe no statutory provision is necessary to protect the Indians from the impositions of traders, where no whiskey is introduced into the Indian Country.

While the Indians are sober, they are fully competent to manage their own concerns. They understand the value of their peltries, and of the goods which are offered for them. It is only while in a state of intoxication, or while labouring under the effects of that craving appetite for spirits, which habits of intoxication produce, that they are liable to the impositions.

They are habitually shrewd, cautious, and suspicious. The capital embarked in this trade causes a competition among the persons connected in it, which leaves to the seller but a moder-

ate profit, and ensures to the purchaser his goods at a reasonable rate. There are too many traders concerned in this business to permit any combination among them, or to allow any impositions to be practised without the danger of detection and punishment.

The entire exclusion of spirituous liquors from the Indian Country is therefore the only measure, which it is necessary for the Government to adopt with a view to secure the Indians from the frauds of trade. It is also highly important to the success of any rational plan for gradually meliorating their condition, and ultimately extending to them the full benefit of civilization. The exclusion, if ever effected, can only be effected by a change in the present laws and by a rigid police upon the subject. However important this measure be to the Indians, yet we are not to expect their participation in any plan for its accomplishment. Their attachment to ardent spirits is a moral phenomenon, and to it they sacrifice every consideration public or private.

It appears to me, that if more discretion were vested in the Officer granting the license, with respect to whom licenses should be granted or refused, and if authority were given to the Officers of the Indian Department to arrest and bring in for trial any person found introducing spirits into the Indian Country and to destroy the spirits thus found, the beneficial results of this change would be soon experienced. The Special employment of some persons to enforce these statutory provisions would be necessary. In fact I have long been convinced that if six or eight men were appointed within the limits of this Superintendency to travel through the Indian Country and to enforce the laws and regulations upon this subject, our prospect of an improvement in the moral and physical condition of the Indians, would be much more promising than it now is. I think this the most efficient measure, which could be adopted, the most economical and practicable in itself and the most certain and salutary in its effects. Very Respectfully, Sir I have the honour to be Yo. mo. obt. Servt

[Lewis Cass]

Hon, J. C. Calhoun Secy. of War.

1818: INSTRUCTIONS FOR A TRADER

[MS. in Burton Library, Detroit. Pressmark: Vol. 115, p. 37.]

Instructions to Danial Borassa[48] this day licensed to trade with *the Indians at Ke-as-Ke-Ke.*

1. Your trade will be confined to the place to which you are licensed.

2. Your transactions with the Indians will be confined to fair and friendly trade.

3. You will attend no Council held by the Indians, nor send them any talk or speech accompanied by wampum.

4. You are forbidden to take any Spirituous Liquors of any kind into the Indian Country, or to give, sell, or dispose of any to the Indians, unless specially authorised so to do.

5. Should any person attempt to trade in the Indian Country, without a License, or should Licensed traders carry any Spirituous Liquors into the Indian Country, or give, sell or dispose of any to the Indians, without special authority, the Indians are authorised to Seize and take to their own use the Goods of such Traders, and the owners shall have no claim on the Indians or the United States for the same.

6. Should you learn that there is any person in the Indian Country trading without a License you will immediately report the name of such person, and the place where he is trading, to some Indian Agent.

7. The substance of the fifth regulation you will communicate to the Indians.

8. You will take all proper occasions to inculcate upon the Indians, the necessity of Peace, to state to them, that it is the wish of their Great Father, the President to live in harmony with them, and that they must shut their ears to any evil stories there may be in circulation.

---

[48] For Daniel Bourassa consult *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, *passim.* At one time he traded on the Chicago River, on whose southern branch he had a trading house. This document is here given as a specimen of instructions issued at the time.—Ed.

Given under my hand at the City of Detroit this ninth day of October, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighteen By the Governor & Superintendant,

[Lewis Cass]

Endorsed: Instructions to Danial Borassa Indian Trader Oct. 9th, 1818.

1818: PRICES FOR LICENSES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 52.]

Detroit 15th. Octr. 1818.

Dear Sir—On the subject of Messrs. Crooks and Stuarts statement made (through J. J. Astor) to the Department of War relative to my having received fifty dollars for each license by me granted at the Post of Michillimackinac, authorizing Indian trade during the year 1816. I have to remark that the sum of Five dollars for each license granted for Indian trade had uniformly been received by authority of Gov: Hull, who through Mr. Atwater then Secretary of the Territory of Michigan furnished Samuel Abbott Esqr. (now a Clerk of the A. F. Company House) with blank licenses signed by the Governor, with instructions to fill them up on application of the trader and to ask and to receive for such license the sum of Five dollars retaining one half that sum for his proper use and remitting the remaining half to the Secretary of the Territory. With a knowledge of that fact I was induced to believe myself indisputably entitled to receive a Like amount for all licenses by me granted under the law regulating Trade and Intercourse with Indian tribes, etc. etc. passed 1802.

By the instructions from the War Department 1816 predicated upon a law regulating trade and intercourse with Indian tribes etc. passed April of the same year, the duties or labour incumbent upon the Agent issuing such license was increased more [than] ten fold, as under the Law of 1802 a Bond for 1000 dollars was only necessary to be written upon which for

the license to issue, Whereas under the instructions of 1816 upward of thirty notices were required including discriptive lists etc., which require the employment of a clerk, at my private expense. immediately after receiving the instructions imposing this extraordinarily great additional labour, and believing (from the practise theretofore establish and undenied of charging five dollars under the Law of 1802) that I was justly authorized to increase that charge in proportion to the increased duties thus by the instructions of 1816 imposed, I consulted with Col. Bowyer Indian Agent for Green Bay and Col. Chambers then Commanding the post of Michillimackinac, by each of whom I was advised that Fifty dollars would be but a moderate compensation for the writing actualy required to be done, upon the issuing of each licence this opinion was also given me by Col. John Miller, 3d. Infantry,[49] who about that time relieved Col Chambers in the command at the post of Michillimackinac, with this advice I did feel myself fully authorized to receive the sum of fifty dollars for each license so issued, but never did in any instance enforce its collection, I viewed it as a voluntary act of justice, on the part of those obtaining licenses, and it will be recollected the House of Mr. Astor, then in partnership with the North West Company did not pay me for their licenses until after all their outfits were gone into the Indian Country, as will appear from my receipt to them given and dated late in the Autumn of 1816, long after their Licenses had reached their points of trade.

This transaction was on my part fair open and candid, giving the parties full time, if they had reason to complain of the charge, to do so, to my Government, and when Mr. Varnum for the South West Company House, voluntarily tendered me the payment for licenses to that house by me granted, I without hesitation gave him my receipt for the amount.

As respects my having sent ardent spirits into the Indian Country to purchase corn, I beg leave to remark, that not having any instructions to that effect from my Government, or

[49] For Col. John Miller, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, 1, p. 51.—Ed.

your Excellency, the introduction of ardent spirits into any part of the Indian Country by an American Citizen, was not prohibited, nor was any prohibition imposed to that effect until 1817. I did purchase a small quantity of corn and no other articles from Indians for my own use I have the honour to be Your Excellency's Mo. obt. Hble. Servt.

Wm. Henry Puthuff.

His Excellency Lewis Cass Governor etc, etc.

1818: COMPLAINTS FROM GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 4B110.]

Green Bay 13th Nov. 1818

Dear Tommy[50]—I received your favor p[r]. Mr. Laborde[51] yesterday and you surprize me about Mr. Dickson wild Goose chase I cannot say what can be his views for going back to that wild Country but he knows best it revives my Spirits to hear that the Duke of Richmond [governor of Canada] has taken into hand to have the Fortifications compleated [at Drummond Island] for I was afraid that our people was neglecting themselves and going to abandon the Posts but it still Appears that they do not mean to abandon us entirely to the Y—kees.

This is three years nearly Dear Tommy since peace has been made and I have been in Hell ever since I am getting Grey and worn out in the service and now being with these Hell Hounds these latter years racks my Constitution & my mind and body is agitated continually seeing my property going to the Devil you may think that oppression is the Cry here for a B[ritish] Subject and you may figure to yourself that it

---

[50] This letter is written to Capt. Thomas G. Anderson, a Wisconsin fur-trader before the War of 1812–15; at the time of this letter he was living at Drummond Island as storekeeper in the British Indian department. See his narrative in *Id*, ix, pp. 137–206.—Ed.

[51] For this person see *Id*, xix, p. 122, note 64.—Ed.

is carried on to its greatest extent since these doodles has taken possession of this place I am not less than £2000 loser on my property at a moderate calculation, besides what they have made me loose by the Indian trade, throughing [throwing] every Obstacle in our way here oh will their not come a Day of Resurrection, that we may rise once more and we have the power & Strength of Sampson. it is a shame for our Government to have not made a better provision for his poor straggling & faithful Subjects he has in these wild woods but there must some allways Suffer and we are the victims. the poor Wechastas [Indian allies] how they are abandoned is it not shameful for our G[overnmen]t to abandon them as they have done. I suppose I will make a heavy loss this year I could get no Licence to send nor go into the Country so that the poor Indians were disappointed by me for going into the Mississippi as I had promised them and I was obliged to remain at the Bay. all the Indians were off from the Bay for to go and make their wild Rice when I got hear but I am glad none of them had gone into the Mississippi before I got here, for all Mr. Aird done his best to take them along with him, in telling them a parcel of falsehoods as well as others, that I was not coming back even to the Bay and a parcel of Stuff &c &c. but they told them that they could wait and as soon as they had heard I had got hear they came down and I told them my Situation that it was not my fault I could not go into the Country nor send or else I would have been here before so I could not do otherwise but make them all my Goods on Credit from my house, [of] which they were much in want as they were naked this year which you may suppose I must meet with a very heavy loss not having even permission to Send after a Credit I sew [sow] and their is plenty to reap of the A[merican]s in the Indian Country.

If it was not for the old Traders the Indians must inevitably starve & Freeze for they get no assistance from these people not even a mouthful of provisions—it is true I will pay for the Roast, but Mr. Aird as well as the others will so[on] know that I have still some Influence with this nation for there

is not one single Indian gone down to the Prarie which must vex them a good deal but there is no hunt in this part the Indians will suffer a good deal this winter the Country being so barren enough of this disagreeable theme I will pause.

You cannot expect any news worth your Attention from this Quarter the only news I can give you is the Foxes & Sauks went to War in July & August last and kild 40 odd Sioux of the River de moins and brought in 30 odd Prisoners women & children to the Prairie du Chien the Sioux had a great deal of trouble to get back the Prisoners out of the Foxes hands they would not for some time give them up so we may expect that their will be a great deal of fighting amongst them this Season the Chippeways & Sioux has had a few fights this last summer but few has been killed on both sides. the vessel called the Hercules with all its crew has been lost leaving Shekaugo [Chicago] on the 3 Oct last their was an Engineer Mr. Everlets[52] on board one of their best Engineers which is a very great loss to their Government the crops has been very poor hear in General this year and the Mill don't go I have been eating Potatoes this month in place of Bread. Capt. Whistler[53] commands hear

---

[52] The remains of the wreck of the "Hercules" lay between the outlets of Big and Little Calumet rivers, on the lake shore. There they were seen in 1820 by Henry R. Schoolcraft, but he erroneously gives the date of the wreck as November, 1816. Besides the evidence of this contemporary letter of Lawe, we have letters from Mackinac showing that the "Hercules" left there Sept. 19, 1818, for Chicago. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative of Expedition of 1820* (Phila., 1855), p. 202; A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), i, p. 94.

Lieut. William Sanford Eveleth of Virginia was a cadet at West Point, from which he graduated in 1813. He was made lieutenant in the engineer corps, and had, during the summer of 1818, been employed in completing Fort Dearborn. He embarked on the schooner "Hercules" for a visit to his home. His body, much disfigured when found, was recognizable only by his military uniform.—Ed.

[53] For the military record of Capt. William Whistler see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 178. He was stationed at Green Bay, 1817–19, and was again in 1820 temporarily in command there. In 1826 he returned to Green Bay as major in command, and remained for two years,

at this Post with about 200 men they are to be removed next Spring down and the [MS. torn] Regiment to come hear which I expect will finish the business. Mr. Oliva has been hear nearly two months he has left Madam to winter hear with Goods he is a great Scamp, I believe I do not know if we will get a little for our property hear I am afraid not I wish I Could sell out & leave this Country for ever I would bid a hearty adieu there is nothing to be done hear & what is going to become of us I do not know what we are going to do next year there is no resisting [inducement?] to Carry on the Trade Any more in this Country, we are all going down hill fast. do write me all the News you can this Winter and what prospects there is, you must be happy where you are. I suppose you hear from Mr. Franks from time to time I hope he got down safe this year with his Packs. Remember me to all enquiring Friends Mr. Porlier & Jacobs & Grignons Compliments to you, and Believe me to be your sincere friend and well wisher.

JOHN LAWE.

N. B. Excuse my very bad Scrawl for it is not legible Nekish and her young ones desires to be remembered to you.

Endorsed: Letter Green Bay 13 Nov. 1818. J. Lawe.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 52B75.]

Messrs. Forsyth Richardson & Co. [NO DATE]

SIRS—I received your favor with the inclosed account. I had hoped that it would be paid, from the product of the peltries that I had in reserve, and that I sent immediately from la Bay, to Montreal; and that have arrived there. If he who transported them has not delivered them, I am more than mortified, as contrary to my wishes.

Each epoch constantly brings me new hindrances in fulfilling

---

being removed to Fort Niagara, whence in 1832 he came to regarrison Fort Dearborn at Chicago. He died at Newport Barracks, Ky., in December, 1863. His wife was Julia Fearson of Detroit, who there died in 1875.—ED.

my obligations to you, which after the benefit they have been to me I consider as sacred. As soon as I arrived here I would have disposed of my peltries and sent yo[u] the sum of your account with this present letter; but the packs have already gone, and I can only refer you to Mr. Rocheblave, who has orders to deliver to you the proceeds on account. If the present letter should reach you before the arrival of Mr. Rocheblave, and his detention causes you trouble you are authorized by this to claim the packs wherever they are and sell them on my account. They contain

No. 1 100 Beaver weighing 108 lb.
2 57 " 78 lb.
29 Otters, 37 skunks.

The quality of the furs was of the very best, but being wet they look badly.

Affairs in General have been very bad, little Hunt, many hindrances for the British, all has contributed; but particularly for me. Induced by false hopes of a good year, I loaded myself with merchandise at a high price, doubly mistaken in my ideas. The year was not only bad in general, but I especially have had to suffer a complete disappointment, having been as a Britisher kept from trading. A court of mercantile inquisition has judged according to its own interest even more than the Government. That was the beginning of the persecution but it is not yet ended, and I cannot make out what is going to become of us, abandoned as we are not knowing our rights nor where we shall be attacked. In an obscure labyrinth, loaded incessantly with most atrocious calumnies without means of unmasking them, what are we to do? I would never have believed that among any people it would be a title of reprobation to have been a British subject, to have belonged to a Government which has always seemed to me so kind to foreigners. I begin to perceive the word *liberty* in the language of politics or of the Governments does not mean the same thing as we commonly suppose.

I have digressed from the point that gave me the right to

address you, pray pardon me the liberty that I take in enlarging on my misery.

I have the honor to be with the consideration due you, Your very hble & obdt Svt^r.

JQ. PORLIER.

1818: PROFIT AND LOSS AT FACTORIES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 167.]

OFFICE OF INDIAN TRADE NOV: 18TH. 1818

John W Johnston U S Factor P. du Chien

SIR—Your returns for the quarter year ending June 30th. have been received and examined.

The following statement comprises all your transactions in that quarter as per your Journal—

cost of goods			
$2164.62	bartered for Furs etc. valued at	$4524.93	profit $2360.31
66.92	" " feathers " "	145.	78.08
45.43	" " Wax etc	102.15	56.72
51.43	" " Sugar	92.93	41.50
41.98	" " Indian curiosities	88.75	46.77
141.09	" " Lead	335.90	194.81
28.51	sold to J. P. Gates a 66⅔%	47.51	19.
67.80	" J. W. Johnson a 15%	77.97	10.17
16.56	" R. B. Belt a 15%	19.04	2.48
6.14	" Qr. Mr. Genl. a .75	10.75	4.61
459.25	" for Cash a 92⅝	878.87	419.62
84.33	pd. sundry persons on Contingent acco. a .75 . . .	147.58	63.25
$3174.06		$6,471.38	$3,297.32

By which it appears that Goods which cost $3174.06/100 were sold or bartered for $6431.78 leaving a profit on the merchandize account of $3297.32

to which must be added amount gained on the fur account, arising from difference between the Invoice prices and they are taken in at—gain in weight etc. 253.82

Gained on the Feather acco. they being taken in at 25 Cts. per Invoiced at .50	226.25
Gained in weight of Lead	693.90
Indian curiosities recvd. for $108.50 invoiced at $117.13	8.63
This amt. should be the gross gain on the a/c curt.	$4,479.92
Instead of which it is only	3,595.12
making a difference of	$884.80

* * * * * * * *

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 169.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE GEORGE TOWN DECR. 5TH. 1818

Mathew Irwin Esq Green Bay

SIR—I am directed by the Supt. Indian trade to request that all furs and Peltries which you may receive in future from the Indians at your factory be transmitted to this office via Erie and Pittsburg. It is his wish to make this place the depot for all furs and peltries taken in at the northern factories. At foot is statement of prices obtained at our sale on the 23d. Ulto. by which you will discover that a considerable loss has occurred to the U. S. by your selling this year at the factory.

Very Respectfully etc etc

J. W. B.

1818: HISTORY OF FUR-TRADE COMPANIES

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 181.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE 31st. Decr. 1818

Hon: Secretary of War.

SIR—The histories of the fur associations, under the various titles of Hudson Bay, North West, Michilimackinac and South West companies, are not within my reach—such writers as I have been able to glance over, since I saw you yesterday deal cheifly in the details which make up the expeditions of the traders, the routes, portages, rapids, river courses, etc. etc. with-

out affording much information respecting the amount of capital vested in the several branches; and none at all in relation to the charters, or rules of association.

I am only able to state that the amount of capital employed by the North West company in 1788 was 40,000. £ Sterling, and that this amount in 1793 was trebled, making it about 530,000 Dollars.

In 1798 The N. W. Company divided, one branch continueing to trade under its old title and on the old stock; and the other under the title of the Michilimackinac with a new stock, but what amount constituted this new stock I am unable to ascertain. It is reasonable however to infer that it was not less than the amount employed by the N. W. branch, but it was probably more. For no doubt superior advantages were contemplated by the new party, and these of course must have embraced superior resources.

However it is fair to put the whole capital employed by these two branches at One Million of Dollars. To this may be reasonably added a quarter of a million more, in the hands of unassociated individuals. I do not conceive however that this addition ought to weigh any thing in this estimate, as there will be two divisions of trade, under the view you have taken of the subject, not less than the 500,000, will be employed in the home trade, which may go to take the place of the 250,000 Dollars supposed to be in the hands of Individuals in 1798.

I think a company suitably organized and vigorously managed could prosecute the outer division of the trade to advantage on a capital of a million of Dollars—that more would be unnecessary, because, by the side of it would be ranged another set of operations, with 500,000 Dollars more and a million and a half on reflection I hold to be adequate for the Whole trade, or if it should turn out to be the minimum, I conceive that it would be better so, than for the capital to be augmented to an overgrown amount, better as it relates to the Interests of the Company; and better for the maintenance of a fur market which it is so desireable to preserve in our Country; and better for the Indians themselves.

If the capital stock were larger than could be managed with activity, the short interest upon it might discourage the owners, and produce a relaxation of efforts, and ultimate loss. Whereas, if, after trial it should be found too small, it could be enlarged by a law authorizing that measure, and if the capital were beyond certain limits which would make it no object for the managers of the trade to turn it over with expedition, it would afford opportunities and leisure to wait for the returns from China, or other foreign markets—or give the Company power to oblige our manufacturers to buy at home under circumstances which might be deemed oppressive at least by the consumers. But if the Capital be at its minimum, it will tend to keep up that activity of intercourse with the natives, with a view to make the best of it, as will serve their wants more effectually—inasmuch as the necessity for quick returns will lead the Agents to accomodate their locations to the hunting grounds of the Indians; without waiting for the Indians to march hundreds of miles to them.

I think a million of Dollars, for these reasons, the most suitable capital for the outer trade, and I think that amount, will be subscribed for *provided* it will not be found more advantageous for the successors of the present Govt. policy, to oppose and successfully counteract the creation of such a company, with a view to reach out into those distant parts by means of their Agencies from within the posts. It strikes me this view of the case will not be lost sight of by those who understand how to make the best of a new state of things. Nor do I see how a provision in the law would prevent them. An Invoice upon the horns of a stag would be as easily got at, as would be the Indian Adventurers, who might wish, even if the law should *forbid* it, to extend their enterprize into the wilds of the Missouri, and beyond the limits which might be assigned to them. This view of the subject leads me and it has this moment occurred to me, to apprehend that if the Govt. abandon the home trade, ir will not be able to realize the object of a Company beyond the posts—and for reasons just glanced at:

But the company plan would be more certain to carry if the

home trade were continued in the hands of the Government. Inasmuch as the fur mongers, and hungry parts of our Citizens who so longingly desire to become traders would then have but the single chance, and their funds would be directed into that channel without delay. These latter remarks have occurred to me, as I went along—and I have followed the impulse, and added them to the little light which I have been able to illicit from the records of narratives respecting the Capital of the North West company. I am etc etc

T. L. McK[enney].

1819: DIFFICULTIES OF TRANSPORTATION

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C33.]

Green Bay 8th January 1819

Dear Sir—I received your very kind Letter per Menagre on 2nd day after his arrival here which was on the 4th Instant and Immediately communicated to Col Bowyer what you was so good as to mention in your Letter to me about Aug[t] Grignon he found all right & well I believe. I send you by Larock & Houlle[54] a hind Quarter of Beef weighing 89[lbs] in the same state as when it was killd nothing wanting say Kidney Tallow &c on it so if there is any thing wanting you know whom to accuse. it was the best I could get it has been Stall fed you will

---

[54] Bazile and François La Rocque were Green Bay habitants, the latter of whom worked for Lawe, while the former was an independent farmer, probably a retired voyageur. In 1821 he entered a claim for land, which he sold two years later to George Johnston. In 1831 he subscribed toward the maintenance of the local Catholic church.

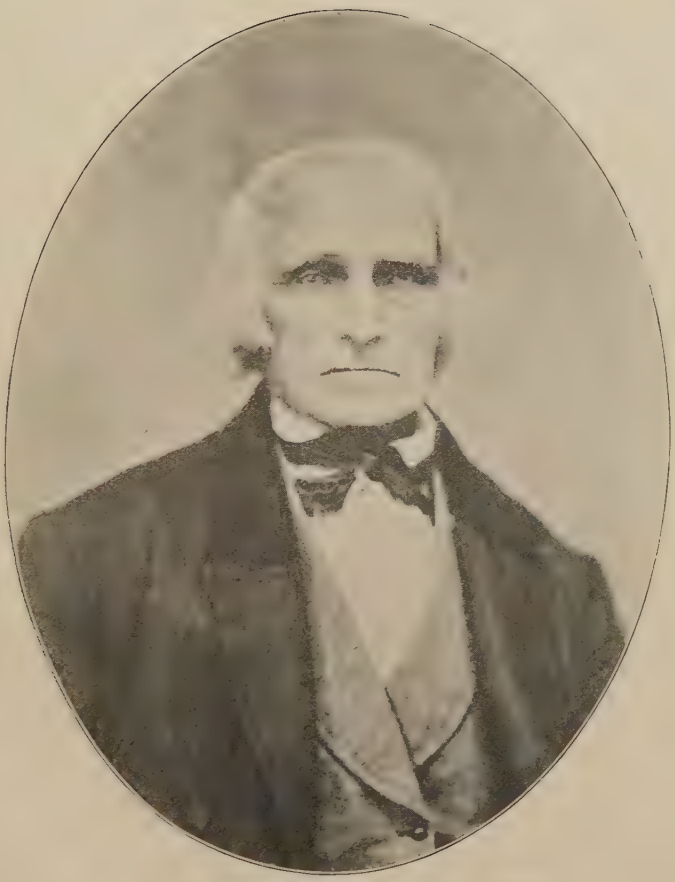
Joseph Houle (Houel), called by courtesy "Captain," was a voyageur and farmer at Green Bay, often employed by Lawe. His land was confirmed to him in 1823. He died at Kaukauna in 1879, it was claimed at the age of 113 years.—Ed.

receive by the same the axe also as good as Jourdain[55] could make. I had no whetstone nor could I get any to send you. I immediately mention[ed] to Mr. Pre. [Pierre] Grignon[56] what you communicated to me in your Letter about the taking up of all your Goods that is here to the Prairie in the Spring. you have here remaining the Load of 2 heavy Boats full & they will be rather overloaded when the Mens Provision &c is all in and we have calculated it as near as we possibly could go and we find we cannot take it up cheaper than 400 Dollars for each Boat Load which will make 800 Dolls. & you to pay all the Portages which perhaps you may be able to pay in Goods you will please to think that so early as the opening of the Rivers in the Spring the waters are very high & Strong & very Cold and there must be made as many half Loads as there is made in the Fall in the Rapid on account that the Waters is too Strong at that season of the year to go up with any great weight in the Boats as you must follow the river channel as in the Fall & the men has no Thwarts in the next place the men will be very scarce at that time of the year as they are gone all in the Winter Grounds and what few does remains will take the advantage of asking a very big price as they will be backwards of going as they prefer to be gaining good dayly wages here at that season of the year as it is sowing time & be quiet & have nothing than be going up to their arm pits in water and other disadvantages that I could point out to

---

[55] Joseph Jourdain was born at Three Rivers, Canada, in 1780, and came to Wisconsin in 1798. He was the village blacksmith, and in 1820 entered a claim for land which was confirmed. His house stood until 1884, when it was destroyed by fire. In 1828 he was appointed blacksmith for the agency, and in 1834 removed in that capacity to Winnebago Rapids, near Little Lake Butte des Morts, where he thenceforth made his home. He died in 1866 while on a visit to Green Bay, and is buried at Allouez. He married in 1803 Marguerite Gravelle, by whom he had eight children. His daughter Madeleine became the wife of Eleazer Williams. Another daughter, Christine married Paul, son of Augustin Grignon.—Ed.

[56] For a biographical sketch of this person, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 89, note 24.—Ed.



JOSEPH JOURDAIN

From a photograph in possession of the Society

you—in fact the few men that will remain here that we will be able to get is all smiths & cost what it will you know. I am very particular in writing this to you as you might if we make a bargain to take & deliver your Goods at the Pre[Prairie] think that this much is advantage taken of you by me but no Sir you may depend that it is not you may see for instance John Whelan has no less than 5 men with him they will cost him $550 for not quite 7 month term which makes the men scarce.[57] So you may easily suppose what will it be hiring men for the Trip and [if] I paid for every man that went & agreed to go up but 2 Dollars a Day. There is another thing which I will observe to you that it is a regular establishe[d] price taking of Goods from here to the Pre that is as I say per weight from 90[ct] to 100 per package at 4 to 5 Dollars per [?] in fact I will say no more this is the proposition which we make to you Please to let us know by the first opp[y] what you think of it & so If we agree that we might get every thing in readiness at the first opening of navigation. [Remainder of letter illegible.]

Endorsed: Copy of a letter of J. Lawe to Louis Devotion[58] dated 8th Jany 1819.

1819: NEW FACTORY ESTABLISHED

[MS in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark. Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 197.]

Office Indian Trade February 5th. 1819.

The President of the U. S.

Sir—I had the honor on the 27 Octr. 1817 to recommend that a branch of the P. du Chien factory be located at Le Moin river

---

[57] John Whelan is frequently mentioned in the letters of this period. He seems to have been an American who found the fur-trade less profitable than he had expected and soon departed.—Ed.

[58] The transcript of the letter is one made by John Lawe for his own reference or letter-book. Nothing is known of the trader to whom it was addressed, save that his name frequently appears in letters of that time.—Ed.

near its junction with the Mississippi—which was approved of.[59] This branch got under way as expeditiously as the nature of the business would admit, and from returns received from it, I feel myself justified in recommending that it be constituted a seperate establishment. Two reasons lead me to propose this change:

First—Its capacity to sustain itself, and do well.

Second—The interruptions and additional labor which the extent of its operations carries into the agency of the Prarie du chien factory of which it is a Branch, when the business of that factory is fully as great as Mr. Johnson the factor can properly manage. I am etc etc etc

T L McK[enny]

1819: PLANS TO LEAVE GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 5B1. Translated from the French.]

La Bay Verte Feb. 6 1819

My Dear Sir—This is to transmit to you my Remembrances with the strong Hope that it will find both you, your Lady and all your Family in perfect health.

I have no Interesting News to relate and I refrain from Giving you a Detail of a Winter as sad as we have passed both in Business and because of the Bad Treatment by these new People, which is too long to relate.

Capt. W. Withler [Whistler] commands here. The Savages have in General all been in good Disposition but their hunt has been an utter failure and many have Suffered from hunger and it is said some have even Died

I call to your mind the Land that you have told me the Government was to give as it is time that we looked for a Foreign Asylum British Subjects are always black Sheep. They take their Property and even try to destroy it as something Absolutely

[59] Robert B. Belt was the factor in charge. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, *passim*.—Ed.

Necessary and I leave you to judge, my dear Sir, if one can live in such a Country after Such Treatment. Therefore I hope that you will think of me in regard to that which I mention to you. We propose Mr Lawe and I to go as far as York and even to Kingston this Spring to see if we can make an Establishment somewhere in Upper Canada. I had Hoped for a long time that I should see you before your Departure for the River Rouge [Red River] but now I think that is impossible. In consequence I beg you to permit me the privilege of Signing myself, Dear Sir Your obedient Servant

L Grignon.[60]

Endorsed: Copy of a letter to Robert Dickson Esquire, Present.

1819: LICENSES MUST BE RESPECTED

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, p. 253.]

Department of War, 3d. March, 1819.

Sir—It has been represented to this department by the Agent of the American Fur Company, that the licenses granted to their traders by the Indian Agents at Green Bay, Chicago and Michilimackinac, have not been recognized by the civil and military officers of the government on the Mississippi, as sufficient authority to carry on their traffic with the Indians in that quarter of the country, and that the company has sustained serious injury in consequence thereof; I have therefore to request, that proper respect, in future, be paid to licenses issued to traders by these agents, and that they be considered as the protection of the traders and their people in every section of the Indian Country whilst in the lawful prosecution of their business.[61] I have etc.

J. C. C[alhoun]

Gov. Wm. Clark, St. Louis

Endorsed: Same to Lt. Col. Chambers, St. Louis.

---

[60] For Louis Grignon see *Ibid*, p. 90, note 27.—Ed.

[61] No doubt this order was issued upon the representation of Astor,

1819: FACTORY SUPPLIES LOANED

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 225.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE GEORGE TOWN March 11th. 1819

John W. Johnson Esq Prairie du Chien

SIR—I beg leave to call your attention to the privilege granted you to issue supplies of Merchandize to American Traders of good morals, and generally under the instructions which that permission embraced.

It appears to me that the plan is liable to abuse—and however the effects may go to lesson the evils growing out of the peddling system, carried on by foreigners and all sorts of characters, to the injury of the Indians, and the disgrace of human nature, yet a danger appears to be apprehended on the other hand. It is that which implies exorbitant charges which those to whom you may furnish supplies, have it in their power to make, and by this means the releif which it was intended thr'o them to carry in amongst the Indians may be converted into an evil.

I suggest therefore, and beg that you will have the goodness to attend to it, with all the punctuality which its importance merits, that you be particular, first, in the sort of Men, (especially in their just and moral character) you may entrust this liberty to. Second, require of them *prompt,* and frequent settlement. Third—trust to no Man another supply, till he pays for the preceeding. Fourth, to his Invoice, add a column and affix to each article the price he is to ask of the Indians, and regulate the advance upon a scale of equal justice, which implies a just compensation to him for his trouble and the distance of the Tribe, or Tribes with whom he may trade, and a fair demand upon the Indians. Direct also what he is to allow for the various skins he may take in barter. Of all this you will be

---

in connection with the complaints furnished by Ramsay Crooks and Robert Stuart in their letter of Jan. 24, 1818—*ante*, pp. 17–31. On the matter as it appeared to American factors, see Irwin to McKenney, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 277, 278.—ED.

the best judge. I refer it to your discretion—with but one additional remark—The Indians must be justly treated and dealt by, and we must, so far as we have the power to controul the trade, do by them acordingly. No trader who goes out from the factory, being aided with supplies by it, will be permitted to violate the rules which relate to it. He must do his business with the Natives without the intervention of whiskey or any spiritous liquors. It is the curse of these people. We should use all proper and lawfull means to save them from its balefull effects.

Take such testimony against a trader who may violate your instructions, as you may think ought to condemn him, and trust him no more. He must count to dispense with legal requirements, and let his good conduct keep him free from even slight imputations.

* * * * * * * *

I notice what you say of Mr. Rolette and others.

T. L. McK[enney].

1819: PLANS TO LEAVE GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 5B6.]

St. Mary's Falls [Sault Ste. Marie] April 23d 1819

Dear Sir—I received your kind letters here which with Mr. Grignons had been detained at Michilimackinac as Major Putthoff was dubious that some underhand business was going on. he wrote me and said as there were no Accounts since fall, respecting the relative state of matters with Spain, he from the suspicious manner the Indian came he had taken the letters from him However this may be, we understand that matters are on an amicable footing between Great Britain & the United States; I lament the severe loss that you have had and the uncomfortable way you are Situated at Green Baye. I would have written you last fall but I entrusted Mr. Porlier with a Communication to you and Mr. Grignon, which from the con-

tents of your letters I think he has not made it was [MS. torn] taking an active part in the North trade and when you know the advantages I am sure that you will accept I am going to York on the 1st May, having three months ago memorialized Sir Peregrine Maitland[62] on Our business and I am pretty certain we will obtain our Rights. I will be back by the end of May, when I expect to find both you and Mr. Grignon at Mackinac give up all thoughts of going to settle in Upper Canada. I have a plan to propose to you which I am sure you will be pleased with also Mr. Grignon I would have written you last fall but I will [explain to] you why I did not when we meet.

I wish to take to the Indian Country a parcel of Good Beaver hunters you know who. I hope to meet them at Drummonds Island where I think I can [procure] them a Good equippment.[63] Do not delay at La Bay [but] be at D[rummond] Island by the end of May, even if you [should] be obliged to Return to La Baye you can [be] expeditious in a light Canoe —also Mr. Grignon. There is no news from this worth while Lord Selkirk arrived on the 1st December at Liverpool Affairs must take a favorable turn there at [least] must come out. he could obtain no justice in Canada.[64] I shall write you from Drummond Island in case this should meet with any Accident

---

[62] Sir Peregrine Maitland (1777–1854) was a distinguished soldier who in 1818 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. Upon the death (1819) of his father-in-law, the Duke of Richmond, he acted as governor-general of Canada, and later as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia.—Ed.

[63] The reference is purposely obscure; but in connection with Lord Selkirk's letter of May 21, *post*, it seems that Dickson purposed to remove the Menominee to some place in Selkirk's grant, and to have the prominent settlers of Green Bay accompany them, and develope an agricultural and trading station in the new country. Probably the death of Selkirk, and the fact that the Green Bay inhabitants secured their naturalization papers and a grant of their lands, prevented this wholesale emigration from Wisconsin.—Ed.

[64] See on the subject of the contest between the North West Company and Selkirk, A. Amos, *Report of the Trials in the Courts of Canada relative to the Destruction of the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement on Red River* (London, 1820).—Ed.

you must come as quick as you can for obvious Reasons I do not say more. I received a letter from Jacobs and tell him I expect him here in the Course of May—bring Chapue[65] my Compts to them. Remember me kindly to your Girl & Children God bless you all Yours truly

R Dickson

John Lawe Esq.

1819: LICENSE BOND

[Source, same as preceding document, but 89C2]

Know all men by these presents that we Andrew Leepheart principal, and Robert Irwin Junr. and Lewis Morgan Citizens of Green Bay[66] Surety, are held and stand firmly bound unto the United States of America in the penal sum of one Thousand dollars to be paid to the United States or thier certain attorney, for which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves, our heirs executors & adminstrators firmly with these presents; Sealed with our Seals and dated at Green Bay this Twenty fourth day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and Nineteen.

The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas the above bounden Andrew Leepheart hath this day obtained a License from the agent of Indian affairs at Green Bay untill the Thirtieth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and nineteen, if not sooner revoked, to sell barter or exchange all manner of goods not prohibited by the Laws

---

[65] For sketches of these traders, see *Wis. Hist.* Colls., xix, p. 367, note 16; xi, p. 225, note 1.—Ed.

[66] Robert Irwin Jr. was a native of Pennsylvania, and one of the earliest Americans at Green Bay, settling there in 1817. Active and progressive, he was appointed by Cass justice of the peace, member of the territorial council, etc. He was likewise postmaster at Green Bay, and just before his death (July 9, 1833) had received the appointment of Indian agent at Fort Winnebago. For a fuller sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 252, 253. For Lewis Morgan, see *Id*, xix, p. 454, note 80.—Ed.

of the United States or the instructions of the president prohibiting the sale of Spiritous liquors to Indians. Now therefore if the said Andrew Leepheart shall truly and faithfully observe such regulations and restrictions as are or may be made for the government of the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes during the continuance of said License so issued and obtained, then this obligation shall be void & of no effect. Otherwise to be & remain in full force & virtue.

Signed Sealed & delivered In presence of W^m. Whistler Cap^n Comm^g

ANDREW LEIPHART
ROBERT IRWIN JR
LEW: MORGAN

1819: NEWS FROM KAKALIN

[Source, same as preceding document, but 4B70; Translated from the French.]

MR. L. GRIGNON—We have seen tockimigo, all we have obtained from him is an advance of 100 rats for his credit which he goes to carry to you himself, he probably has more, but will not admit it. He has according to the report of Mr powell[67] lost a trap, but he has six with him and thus can replace the one lost. Mr. Porlier departs from the other end this morning, Alexis met him there as he was coming to get provisions & goods Your servant & friend

AUG^t. GRIGNON[68]

Fily sends his Compliments[69]

KACALIN 24 April 1819

Mr. Louis Grignon merchant at La Baye.

---

[67] For Peter Powell see *Ibid*, p. 368, note 19. Since the printing of that note there has been found among the Society's manuscripts a long interview by Dr. Lyman C. Draper with Powell's son William, containing much additional information on his father's career. This is published in our *Proceedings* for 1912, pp. 146–179.—ED.

[68] See sketch in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 90, note 26.—ED.

[69] For Laurent Fily, who acted as clerk for Augustin Grignon, see *Ibid*, p. 70, note 99.—ED.

1819: WAMPUM FOR FACTORY

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 246.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE GEO TOWN 15 May 1819

John W. Johnson Esq P. du Chien

SIR—On the 10th. and 15th. Inst. I forwarded per mail to St. Louis 2 packages containing 5,500. White and 4,650. blue Waupum. Mr. Kennerly is instructed to forward them to you as soon after they reach St. Louis as practicable. There is more of this article on the Way to your factory with the other goods. Invoice of the whole will be forwarded to you in a few days. Waupum is very scarce and dear this year the whole cost 4 a 5 $ p M for the White and the Blue 5 to 6 $ p M.

J. W. B. for Supt

1819: GREEN BAY SETTLERS TO REMOVE TO RED RIVER

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Bulger Papers.]

LONDON May 21st: 1819.

DEAR SIR—When I left Montreal I was in expectation that I should have recrossed the Atlantic in one of the vessels now bound for Hudson's Bay. That is prevented both by the State of my health, and by very important business which occupies me here, and of which the decision may perhaps be protracted for sometime. I am doubtful therefore that I cannot see you again at Red River so soon as I could wish; but perhaps my absence may be of the less consequence, if another plan which I have in view can be brought to bear.

In consequence of the late treaty with the United States,[70]

[70] Selkirk here refers to the convention between Great Britain and the United States in 1818, which settled the northwest boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the 49° of latitude, thence west to the Stony (Rocky) Mountains. Selkirk's grant from the Hudson's Bay Company had for its southern boundary the height of land between the Hud-

you know that a considerable part of my Red River lands falls within the American lines; but as this does not alter my title to the property, I have requested a very particular friend to go out to Washington this Autumn, in order to make the necessary arrangements on the subject, & He proposes to pass the Winter at Washington, at least till the end of the session of Congress. After which he may probably have occasion to visit the interior; with the view of making arrangements with the Sioux for the purpose of some portion of these lands. In this business I am most anxious that he should have the benefit of your assistance.[71] I trust that when at Washington, he may procure passports to enable you to come and meet him at some place on the Mississippi: and if our Sioux friends continue to be of the same hospitable disposition as when I was their guest,[72] I dare say you may prevail upon him to return with you for a short time to Red River.

With a view to this, I have to request that you will send a Messenger next winter to Prairie du Chien, so as to arrive there by the 1st. February at least. By that time, or perhaps sooner, a letter will be lying at Mr. Rolett's containing, I hope, your passport and further intelligence of the proposed expedition, and of the rendezvous where you may be expected. According

---

son Bay and Mississippi River systems, thus embracing a large portion of the present North Dakota and part of Minnesota. See *N. Dak. Hist. Colls.*, ii, p. 91.—Ed.

[71] Dickson's influence with the Sioux was enormous, for he had married a sister of one of their noted chiefs. As early as 1814 Selkirk had approached Dickson to persuade him to lend his influence to a plan for driving cattle from Prairie du Chien to the Red River, and to influence the Sioux to allow them to pass unscathed. These letters are among the private papers of Lord Selkirk, transcripts from which are in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa from which selected portions have been photographed for the Wisconsin Historical Library.—Ed.

[72] In the summer of 1817 Selkirk went inland from Fort William, and for the first time visited his colony on Red River. Thence he returned through the plains of Dakota and Minnesota. It must have been at that time that he visited the Sioux in company with Dickson. His lordship was at Prairie du Chien in the autumn of 1817; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 462, note 86, also p. 486.—Ed.

to my present idea, the best rendezvous would be St. Louis; and trust that if that is ultimately fixed upon, you can come down by the first open water, so as to make the necessary preparations in time to set out on Horse back as soon as the prairies are dry enough. I presume you can easily select some Chief of the Mississippi Indians, who is in friendship with the Sioux, and who may be trusted to escort the party with a band of sufficient strength to obviate any danger. I am trying to get a Pipe-bowl made in pottery after the model of that with the Horses head &c which was presented to me on the part of the great Sioux Chief. As Captain Matthey[73] has the original we cannot be very accurate in our Copy: but I hope it may come near enough to serve as a letter of introduction to the Sioux.

The expedition that I have been speaking of is of the first consequence to the Interest of all who are concerned in the Settlement of Red River, and it is of very particular importance to you, and the Gentlemen who intend to join you in the plan which you communicated to me at Sandwich and Niagara.[74] I trust therefore that you will not omit anything that rests with you to insure its success. In fact, if the passport be obtained at Washington, all the rest will depend on you, and therefore I feel perfectly confident that it cannot fail.

I have written to you by the way of Montreal cannot be certain whether these letters will overtake you before you proceed from the Sault to the interior. I therefore inclose a Duplicate in the original of this. If you find that the plan of settling at Grande Fourche[75] will not answer, and determine on taking your lands to the North of Latitude 49°, I believe that plan may be chalked out for M^r. Porlier and your associates fully

---

[73] Capt. Frederick Matthey was an officer in the De Meuron regiment, having enlisted in 1808. In 1816 that command was disbanded, and the officers placed on half-pay. Matthey accompanied Selkirk on his expedition to Fort William, thence to Red River and return. Soon after this he appears to have returned to Europe, where he died in 1850.—Ed.

[74] Referring to the proposed emigration of Wisconsin's settlers; see *ante*, pp. 105–107.—Ed.

[75] Probably the site of the present Grand Forks, N. Dak.—Ed.

as beneficial as that which you had in view. I should recommend their making *arrangements with the Company's* officers for establishing a trading post at Lake Sal, or in any other good situation to the North and East of Lake LaPluie, and the Lake of the Woods, choosing for their head quarters a place where the soil is good, and where the Monomones might form a permanent village and cultivate the ground. The Gentlemen concerned ought to use all their influence to encourage not only the Monomones: but also the Maskegins[76] or natives of the Country to settle in this manner and cultivate ground enough to support their families.

If they can succeed in this, other arrangements will naturally arise out of it, so as to ensure to all concerned a permanent benefit and independent fortune. I need not enter into further particulars at present, as better opportunities will occur, and, in my present state of health writing is fatiguing to me. I have to request most particularly that you will consider this letter as most confidential and not to be communicated to any person whatever, especially so far as relates to your expedition and rendezvous on the Mississippi. If M^r. D.[77] does not accomplish this season what is expected from him, that business may serve to account for the Express to Prairie des Chiens, and other preliminary measures, which you may have occasion to take, and even if D. does bring the Cattle, there are still sheep &c to be brought to the Settlement. You will excuse my not naming your proposed fellow traveller, (though an acquaintance of your own) as there are chances, even by this route, of a Letter falling

---

[76] The Maskegon are an Algonquian tribe, so closely related to the Cree that by many they are considered a sub-tribe of the latter. Their habitat being swampy ground, they are frequently called the Swampy Cree. They scattered over the region from the Lake of the Woods and the Lake Superior watershed as far as Hudson Bay, were good hunters, and found many furs. They are now located on several reservations in Manitoba and Saskatchewan; their numbers approximate 2,000.—Ed.

[77] *Note on original MS.:* Mr. Dousman had contracted to furnish the Red River Settlement with two hundred head of Cattle.

into hands that it is not intended for. I am, Dear Sir, Very truly yours.

SELKIRK

Robert Dickson Esqr.

[Source, same as preceding document. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 5B18. Translated from the French.]

FORT WILLIAM 17th June, 1819

MY DEAR FRIEND—Yours of the month of August last reached me December 23, and with sincere pleasure I learned that you were enjoying good health—permit me to wish you a continuation thereof. Circumstances do not compel me to pass the winter in this Country as I had expected. I return the latter part of September as usual. I received under cover from my sister the Balance of the Account that you owed me, for which this is receipt in full.

I am very sorry not to procure for Mr. Jacques [Porlier Jr.][78] the Place for which he asks, for Several Years the troubles in this Country have been such that we have brought out so many Young Men that the place is full. I should have been very glad to have been useful to him, give him my best compliments. I note what you say on the subject of the River Rouge—that would be a delicate subject for me to touch upon were I not writing to a Friend. You have certainly Read what has been published by the two Parties on that famous River? and I know the country perfectly having passed several Years there, and I can assure you that notwithstanding all that has been published against it, all the disadvantages one would there encounter have not been reported. A Man going to establish himself there can hope to do nothing but raise provisions for his own consumption, and moreover will be subject to frosts which destroy everything 4 years out of 6. Surrounded by numerous Warlike tribes he is even less certain of his life and obliged if he wishes to guard a Horse to hold a Cord around his

[78] For a sketch of this Green Bay native see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 469, note 92.—ED.

neck with one hand, and a Gun in the other, and thus pass the Summer Nights. There is more rest in winter, he need not watch any more, for the Snow indicates to him the direction the thieves have taken his Horse, he can follow their tracks as far as he pleases, but this will be in vain, if he does not take with him a Superior force, the Thieves will laugh at him, take his Gun and Capot, and boast of their moderation if they do not kill him. Without commerce, without an outlet for its commodities a Colony cannot prosper. This place certainly does not deserve the Name of Colony, which has been given it, for with the exception of some Individuals employed by the Hudson Bay Company the rest of the whites say 60 to 80 Men are half savages (according to their manners) who certainly live more on the Product of Hunting and Fishing than on those of agriculture—all the time they employ in the latter being ten or twelve days when each puts in badly-prepared ground some Potatoes, which are left afterwards still more badly cared for. They are obliged to go away at least while the Fishing is good, then during a month they live very well when there is a chance of catching dogfish [barbue]. The great moment is that of the harvest, it could not fail to be abundant after such good care, also the finish comes quickly—the most careful (I mean the least lazy) take some precautions to preserve a few Minots for the following year, and this quantity will be as well cared for and as quickly devoured as that of the preceding year. I need say no more.

Having during last winter had more leisure than usual I finally got married to Madame Bouthillier. I will not tell you anything of her except that I am certain that she will receive with pleasure the Friend of her Husband. Believe that neither absence nor distance has dimmed my friendship for you and that I am always yours

P^re^ de Rocheblave

Mr. Jacques Porlier.

Endorsed by Porlier: Letter 1819. Notes on the River Rouge &c.

1819. EXCLUSION OF FOREIGNERS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 90.]

DETROIT June 22, 1819.

SIR—Some of the Gentlemen interested in the Indian trade to the North West have requested me to state to you my opinion respecting that part of the instructions from the War Department contained in my letter to your predecessor of the 23d. of April 1818, which relates to the exclusion from the Indian Country of such foreigners, as have rendered themselves odious to our Citizens by their activity and cruelty during the late War.

I consider the exercise of this right of exclusion purely discretionary on your part, to be regulated by such knowledge of the character and conduct of the persons applying, as you can obtain.

Their employment in the British service merely, during the late war I do not think an absolute ground for exclusion. But that employment should be marked by some distinctive character to shew that their entrance into the Indian Country might be inco[n]sistent with the policy of the United States.

Honourable men may have been in that employment, and may have conducted themselves in such a manner as to deserve our respect. Unfortunately a great majority of them were of a different character, and while their cruelty excites our detestation, their activity would render their influence over the Indians important to them and injurious to us. It is not difficult to apply the principles laid down by the Government to the facts, which have occurred, and to the demands, which may be made and in this application I consider your authority to be discretionary and your decision final.

Please to transmit duplicates of all your drafts. Very Respectfully I am, Sir, Yo. obt. Servt

[Lewis Cass]

G. Boyd Esq. Indian Agent Michillimackinac[79]

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1D82.]

To William Morrison trading for the American Fur Company

Sir—You are hereby especially authorized & required to seize upon every description of goods introduced within the American limits in the neighbourhood of the Fond du Lac and Red Lake Settlements for Indian Trade, by foreigners, and others not duly authorized by the United States or their Agents, and as far as practicable to order such goods, together with the persons vending the same without delay, to the Agent at this Post, to the End that summary justice be had of the offenders. You will destroy all spirituous liquors as soon as detected. You will likewise use your best exertions to prevent the holding of Councils by improper persons with the several bands of Indians comprised within the above limits, and by every means incline them to industry & peace. and for so doing this shall be your authority, as witness my hand & seal this 17 day of July one thousand Eight hundred & nineteen.

George Boyd

U. S. Indian Agent Michilimackinac

---

[79] For a sketch of Col. George Boyd, who succeeded Major Puthuff at Mackinac as Indian agent, and was later transferred to Green Bay, see *Id*, xii, pp. 266–269. His papers form part of the Society's collections.—Ed.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 93.]

DETROIT July 17th 1819.

SIR—The bearer of this letter Mr. George Hunt[80] is associated with some Gentlemen of this place for the prosecution of the fur trade. They are desirous of procuring the assistance of Mr. John Law of Green Bay as an Interpreter. I understand that Mr. Law is a British subject. This under the existing regulations is no cause of exclusion from the employment in which they require his services.

He is stated to have been in the British employment during the War. If he conducted fairly and honourably while thus employed, I see no objection to his entering the Indian Country as an Interpreter. I am too distant to be acquainted with his character and conduct. Of this you must judge. If they are such as to command respect, and if he has never rendered himself peculiarly odious to our Citizens by his activity and cruelty, his employment in the capacity mentioned may be safely allowed.

I wrote to you some time since upon the subject of a census of the Indians within your Agency. It is much wanted at Washington, and I will thank you to direct your attention to it as soon as practicable. In addition to those within your Agency, please to transmit any information respecting the numbers and situation of the Indians between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi and upon the Southern shore of Lake Superior which you can procure. I am, Sir, Respectfully Yo. obt. Servt.

[LEWIS CASS]

Col. John Bowyer Ind Agt. Green Bay

---

[80] George Hunt was the second son of Maj. Thomas Hunt of Wayne's army. The son early entered the fur-trade and in 1812 was besieged by Winnebago Indians on the upper Mississippi. About 1826 he gave up active trade, and settled at Detroit, buying a farm near Bloody Run, where he was living in 1837.—ED.

1819: LICENSE FOR WISCONSIN TRADERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 55B72.]

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE MICHILIMACKINAC IND [TERRITORY]

Whereas the American Fur Company hath this day applied for a License in favor of James H. Lockwood a citizen of the United States of America to trade with the Indian Tribes on the Upper Mississippi, at and above Prarie du Chien, & its tributary waters. Now therefore (by special powers in me vested by the President of the United States, and by special Instructions from his Excellency the Governor of the Territory of Michigan.) I do hereby authorize empower & License James H. Lockwood to trade with any Indian or Tribes of Indians on the Upper Mississippi at & above Prarie du Chien, and its tributary waters, in any article of Goods wares or Merchandise not prohibited by the Laws of the United States regulating Trade & Intercourse with Indian Tribes &c. &c. or Instructions of the President thereof prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits to Indians, until the Twenty seventh day of July in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred & Twenty. And the said James H. Lockwood is hereby further authorized to take with him Francois Frenier, Duncan Campbell, Scott Campbell, Jean B^{t}. Mayrant, Hazen Mooers, Antoine Felix, Louis Froisir, Jean B^{t}. Taillir, Jean B^{t}. Jebon, Charles Mathew, Gabriel Metevier, David Swanson, Antoine Dabin, Jean B^{t}. Desormier, Pierre Bordeau, Jacques Lantier, Francois Mayatt, Antoine Goke, Jean B. Dorion (fil.), Constant Relle, Alexis Gregoire, Louis Menard, Joseph Deneau, Pierre Ladebauche, Jean B^{t}. Allar, & Charles Provost. descriptive list of whom is annexed, as Interpretors Boatmen &c

Given under my hand at Michilimackinac this twenty seventh day of July In the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred & Nineteen

GEORGE BOYD
U. S. I. Agent Mackinac

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C40.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 3d Augt. 1819

SIR—This morning I applied to you to obtain licences for my outfits, which has been refused. I have purchased goods and engaged men at a great price, a short delay will put it out of my power to reach the place of my destination. I am therefore be forever ruined and my family in distress, your reason as respects the two Boleau's perhaps are just, I have done everything in my power and am ready to pledge myself in any manner you think proper, they will not remain in my employ, what can I do more, last year they went in I did not introduce them into the Country, & I am an American Citizen and must say have always served my Country and still ready to do so, therefore hope to enjoy the priviledges of it, it was [on] your promise I should enjoy them that I made those purchases. I am Sir Your humble Servant

GEO. ERMATINGER

To Colo Boyd In. Agent

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B24.]

PORTAGE[81] 20th Augt. 1819

DEAR SIR—Beaupret[82] stop'd here yesterday and tells me he has three or four Packs of Furs a Batteau, Sail, Tent, Kettle saw some Merchandise with other articles, I wish you to take in charge on my account should Mr. Rollet have past Green Bay I wish you to sell the Batteau to the best advantage I will account to you for your trouble. I am Dear Sir Yours truly

GEO. ERMATINGER.

Mr. John Lawe or to Mr. Joseph Rolette Merchant Green Bay.
Endorsed: George Ermatinger 20 August 1819 Cacalin.

---

[81] It is evident from the endorsement, as well as from the date of this letter, that this was a portage on the lower Fox River, at Kaukauna rapids, and not the Fox-Wisconsin portage.—ED.

[82] For Louis Beaupré see *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, xix, p. 364, note 10.—ED.

1819: RIGHT OF CITIZENSHIP

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B26. Translated from the French.]

MICHILLIMAKINAC 27 Aug. 1819

Louis Cass Esq. Govr,

Your Excellency will justify me, if after reiterated and unfruitful Tentatives toward the Government Employees in this region to be permitted to enjoy the Prerogatives of a Citizen of the United States not believing their refusal legal I address to you this Petition.

I do not doubt that prejudices and other unworthy motives are the cause of the Difficulties I have experienced and the Means to escape them is unquestionably an appeal to Your Excellency. A native of La Bay, as the accompanying certificates show, domiciled here, having Passed under the Jurisdiction of the United States, not having made Choice of any other, I appeal to Your Excellency to be recognized as a Citizen, and to enjoy the Prerogatives thereto appertaining. To refuse me this could be considered only in the light of expatriation, which doubtless is not your Excellency's intention. I pray you therefore to turn your attention to my situation and send me an Opinion that will put an end to all uncertainties. I have the honor to be Your Excellency's Very obedient Servant

L. GRIGNON.

Endorsed: Copy of a letter to his Excellency G.[t] Louis Cass Esquire Detroit, 1819.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B29.]

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE DISTRICT OF MICHILIMACKINAC 2 September, 1819

SIR—Messrs. John Lawe, Pierre, Augustin and Charles Grignon, have deposited in my office the necessary proof to entitle them to certificates of citizenship under Jay's Treaty of 1796. I am decidedly of opinion, that these Gentlemen, are Citizens of the United States, and that it is not necessary for

them to take the oath of allegiance to the U. S. Government; but as you are of opinion that it is necessary, I inclose herewith, the Oath required by the different Laws passed, from time to time, on the subject of naturalization. This oath may be administered by any one of the Justices of the County Court. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, sir, Your most obt Servant

ADAM D. STEWART
Collector.

Col John Boyer U. S. Indian agent Green Bay, M. T.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark. Indian Office Letters Received, 1819; Gov. Cass, p. 260.]

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE U. STATES,
September 3d. 1819.

SIR—The case which I understand to be submitted for my consideration is this: Jacques Porlier a subject of his Britannic majesty established himself, within the limits of the United States in what is now called the Michigan Territory, in June 1817 [1791]: and his home has ever since continued to be within those limits. He did not avail himself of the privilege offered by the treaty of 1794 (commonly called Jays treaty) of declaring himself, during the year 1797, a British subject; and the question is whether by the force of this circumstance, merely, he did, or did not become a citizen of the United States?

The 2d. Art. of the treaty of 1794, after stipulating on the part of Great Britain the evacuation of all the posts within the limits of the United States, on or before the 1st day of June 1796, provides that the settlers within the precincts or jurisdiction of those posts should continue to enjoy unmolested all their property; that they should be at full liberty to remain or remove with their effects; that each of them as should continue to reside within the limits of the United States, should not be compelled to become citizens or to take any oath of allegiance to the U. S. but that they should be at full liberty to do so, if they should think proper, and that they should make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation of those

posts,—"And all persons who shall continue, there, after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects of his Britannic majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the U. States." The language is not that they shall, thereby become citizens, *ipso facto*: but that they shall be considered as having *elected to become* Citizens; the manner and terms of their admission, remained to be prescribed by the U. S., and this was accordingly done by the act of Congress of the 29th: Jany. 1795, to establish an uniform rule of naturalization. This act (repealing that of the 26th: of March 1790 which did not reach this case) looks obviously at the state of things produced by the treaty. The first section provides, that any alien being a free white person may be admitted to become a citizen of the U. States, or any of them, on the following conditions, *and not otherwise:* the section then proceeds to contemplate and provide for the case of Aliens thereafter coming into the U. S. The 2d. section, (looking directly at the case of Porlier and others similarly circumstanced) provides "that any alien now residing *within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the U. S. may become a citizen on his declaring on oath etc.* in some one of the courts aforesaid that he has resided two years etc. etc. This act was in full operation during the year succeeding the stipulated period for the evacuation of the posts: and I am of the opinion that Porlier could become a citizen in the year 1797, only by conforming with the provisions of the act to which I have just referred, *"and not otherwise."* The various laws which have since passed on the subject have always contained a provision keeping open this privilege in behalf of settlers prior to 1795: If Porlier has not availed himself of either of these, he is not yet, in my opinion, a citizen of the United States. I have the honor to be, Sir, With great respect, Your obedt. Servant, Wm. Wirt.

The Honble J. C. Calhoun, Department of War.

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book D, p. 520.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, 6th. Septemr. 1819.

SIR—The decision of Mr. Woodbridge, acting governor of the Michigan territory, in the case of Mr. Porlier, who had applied to Colo. Bowyer, Indian agent at Green Bay, for a license to trade with the Indians, but which he declined granting in consequence of a doubt as to Mr. Porlier's being a citizen of the U. S., has been submitted to the Attorney General of the U. States, and I enclose herewith a copy of his opinion, which you will see is opposed to that of Mr. Woodbridge.

The opinion of the Attorney general has been adopted; and therefore no license can be granted to Mr. Porlier, or to any person in similar circumstances. The license already granted to Mr. Porlier must be revoked. I am etc.

J. C. C[ALHOUN]

Govr. Lewis Cass, Detroit.

[Source, same as preceding document, but Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 312.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE GEO TOWN 10th. Sept: 1819

Mathew Irwin Esq Green Bay

SIR—Your letter of the 15th. Novr. last and the copy of a letter from Wm. Woodbridge Acting Governor of the Michigan Territory to Col: John Boyer Indian agent respecting the Citizenship of James Porlier have been laid by me before the Secretary of War. The opinion of the Acting Govr. has been revoked by the Secretary. Enclosed I send you a copy of his letter to Gov: Cass on this subject.

This will rid you I hope of a number of the greatest enemies to your factory and enable you to carry on a much more advantageous trade in future with the Indians.

You will keep me constantly advised of any violations of the law respecting Indian Trade—by Indian traders or others in your quarter. Your communications on this subject shall be always promptly submitted to the Secy. of War who I am con-

fident will give immediate orders to have any such violations corrected.

J[EREMIAH] W. B[RONAUGH] for the Sup

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 5B35.]

DETROIT Sept 10th 1819

SIR—I beg leave to submit for your opinion the following Queries.

1st Are those persons now resident within the United States who were living at the Western posts or places embraced in the second article of Jay's treaty so call[d]. at the time of the evacuation and who did not make an election or declare their intention to remain British Subjects within one year from the evacuation citizens of the United States and entitled to the privileges of citizens.

2[d] Are not all men born within the Territory of the United States since the declaration of independence citizens thereof (tho' the children of foreigners) and entitled to all the privileges of citizens.

3[d] Does a person leaving the United States for a few years for the purpose of acquiring an education (tho' the child of a foreigner) impair their right to citizenship.

4th Can a citizen by any act of his own while residing within the limits of the United States expatriate himself.

To Solomon Sibley Esq. District Atty.[83]

---

[83] Solomon Sibley was one of the earliest and most prominent American residents of Detroit. Born in Massachusetts in 1769, he studied law and after a brief residence in Ohio settled in 1797 at Detroit. He was a member of the first legislative council of the Northwest Territory (1799); first mayor of old Detroit, 1806; auditor, 1814–17; Congressional delegate, 1821–23; supreme court judge, 1823–36; and United States district attorney, 1815–23. He was one of the earliest trustees of the University of Michigan, and organizer of the first bank of Michigan. By his marriage (1803) to Miss Sproat of Pennsylvania he had three sons, one of whom became prominent in the fur-trade. His death occurred at Detroit in 1846.—ED.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B34.]

DETROIT Sept. 10th 1819

MY DEAR SIR—I find it will be almost impossible to procure the Sheep Turkies and Pigeons you wished me to procure you neither have I been able to find any very old whiskey. The two Barrels Salt will be forwarded by next vessel and also Mr. Grignon's 5 Barrels Whiskey and Keg of Tobacco.

I am to receive a final and decisive answer tomorrow on the Subject of the Quarter Mr Accts I now have a gleam of hope that they will be paid.

Enclosed I send you Copies of Questions[84] proposed to the district attorney here and if answered in the affirmative, will go to prove that Mr. Grignon is a citizen of the United States and intitled to all the privileges and immunities belonging to him as such and of course to a Licence.

Mr. Grignon's Case I think will come within the first Question.

I could not find out any way for the admission of yourself into the Indian country unless you were also at Green Bay at the time of the avacuation of these Western posts by the English and did not within one year elect to remain a British Subject. I will write again from New York I am very truly yr friend &c

O. N. BOSTWICK

I could not find any Territorial Laws in English or French.

To John Lawe Esqr. Green Bay

---

[84] See preceding document.—ED.

1819: WINNEBAGO HOSTILE

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letters Received, 1820, p. 126.]

Extract from Doctor Maddison's letter, dated Portage at Fox River Octr. 5. 1819.

I found the Indians all friendly except one tribe of the Winnebagoes, who behaved so insolently, that I thought at one time, I should have been compelled to have used Doctor Crows pistols, they entered our tent and examined our baggage and gu[n]s until forced to retire, I could scarcely prevent my men from committing violence on them, which would have certainly been fatal to us. W. S. Maddison.[85]

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 120.]

Detroit Octr. 7. 1819.

Sir—I have been instructed by the Secretary of War to inquire into the situation of the Winnebago Indians, and to take them under my superintendency. I will therefore thank you to make to me a detailed report upon the subject of those Indians, stating their probable number, their character, local situation, disposition towards the United States, and in short every circumstance connected with them, which may enable me to determine what course the just policy of the Government and a proper regard to them may require to be pursued.

I will thank you also to transmit to me a similar view of the Fals Avoin Indians together with your opinion respecting

[85] Dr. William S. Maddison of Kentucky entered the army as surgeon's mate in 1812. In 1816 he was in the 3d infantry, and about 1818–19 came to Green Bay. In May, 1821 he received a furlough to visit his home in Kentucky, and shortly after leaving the fort was shot and killed by his Indian guide. The murderer was executed the following autumn at Detroit.

For the cause of Winnebago hostilities at this time and subsequently, see Irwin's letter in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 278, 279.—Ed.

the Agency, to which these and Winnebagoes should be attached. I am, Sir, Very Respectfully Yo. obt. Servt.

[Lewis Cass]

Nicholas Boilvin Esqr. Indian Agent, Prairie du Chien

1819: LICENSES FOR FOREIGNERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 41, letter Book 3, p. 137.]

Detroit Octr. 11. 1819.

Sir—In a case submitted to the Attorney General of the United States for his decision, he has given it as his opinion, that persons, whose cases are comprehended in the 2d Article of the treaty of 1794, commonly called Jay's treaty, do not by the mere force of that article become American Citizens, but that they must also be naturalized under the acts of Congress. He considers that the treaty secured to those persons, whose cases are described in it, a right to become American Citizens, but that this right must be carried into effect, in the manner prescribed in the acts of Congress to establish an uniform rule of naturalization.

The Secretary of War has adopted the opinion of the Attorney General and the principles which it advances will hereafter regulate your official duties in all cases which they apply; No license will consequently be granted to any person claiming to be an American Citizen under the article before referred to, unless such person has also been naturalized agreeably to the acts of Congress upon the subject.

You will please to revoke any licenses which have been granted contrary to the regulations herein prescribed. I am, Sir, Respectfully Yo. obt Servt. [Lewis Cass]

To the Agents at Michillimackinac, Green Bay, Chickago, Fort Wayne and Piqua

N. B. In the letter to the Agent at Green Bay is this addition[al] paragraph: And you are particularly instructed to

revoke the license to Jacques Porlier, whose case was referred to the Attorney General and upon which this opinion was given, unless Mr. Porlier has been naturalized as before pointed out.

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C47.]

MAKINAC the 28th Octr. 1819

Mr. Bernard Grignon[86]

DEAR SIR—Yours of 17th Inst. Came safe to hand, by which I was glad to Learn that you received the Articles per the "Hanna," in good Order.

I was extremely Surprised to Understand that Col. Boyer had revoked your own, & the Mssrs Grignon's Licenses; but it since appears, he was Justifiable in So doing, from instructions recently received from Secy. at War: predicated on [that of] the attorney General; regarding the right of naturalization under Jays Treaty &c. this opinion I do not Consider in Any respect as legal; for it is a well known fact, that the provisions of National Treaties are paramount to any Statute, or local regulation whatever—but for the present, I think, both you and those Gentlemens ought to acquiesce, & not think of entering the Indian Country, in opposition to the Wishes of the Agent.

I will write on, immediately & ascertain the Mode in which you can finally acquire all the rights of Citizenship; & that, I have no doubt can be accomplished by next Spring—either here, or at Detroit; on this head I will write you early in the Spring;

---

[86] Pierre (or Peter) Bernard Grignon was born at Green Bay in 1806, and was educated chiefly in English, probably at the Fort Howard schools. After the death of his father, Pierre (or Fanfan, 1823) Bernard became locally quite prominent, being first clerk of the court, and contractor for mail-carrying (1832–38). During the Winnebago War (1827) he was a first-lieutenant of militia, later (1845) being elected sheriff and deputy marshal for Brown County. In 1840 he married Rachel L. Lawe, by whom he had five children, of whom one —David H. Grignon of Green Bay—still survives, and to whom our thanks are due for interesting genealogical information relative to the Lawe and Grignon families. The later years of Bernard were passed in retirement. He died at Green Bay, June 29, 1888.—ED.

so as to give you full time to act, as circumstances may require; for we are determined you shall have all your rights, and that, as soon as the case may permit. I will write Mr. Crooks on the subject, & have no doubt, but if necessary, he will go to Washington to have the thing perfectly adjusted, & distinctly understood,—for this Season you must do the best you Can, & hope for better times as I do Not Write French Sufficiently Well to Give your oncles the Messrs Grignons My Sentiments on the above Subject, you will Much oblige Me, by Making them acquainted with what I have here Stated. I Will be glad to hear frequently of you[87]

1819: FUR TRADERS EN ROUTE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B59. Translated from the French.]

La Butte des Morts 29 October 1819

Dear Lawe—I have learned here that the Foll avoines du Bas await me on the Lower Woisconsin I am informed that there are Many Savages at the Fond du Lac Lodges of the Puants Grand Blane's Band, Michetois, the Grand Cheveux enter at Powoihygand [Lake Poygan]. I think that deversaller has arranged all with that wicked old Rascal try not to let any one winter here or come out in opposition. Finally for myself I warn you that I go to make a clean sweep and I shall trade all along my Route and take every Means proper or improper. Excuse my handwriting the cold annoys me. Your Sincere &c

L[ouis] G[rignon]

N. B. Mr. Lawe, you will pay Baptiste for his Time but do

[87] This letter is unsigned, but was probably written by Robert Stuart, agent of the American Fur Company. Concerning him, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 371, note 22. The manuscript appears to be in the handwriting of Pierre Bernard Grignon, who apparently copied it at some later date.—Ed.

not pay for the Barge. Baptiste will tell you all the news. My Savage isn't dead. The [word illegible] of my little Basket has been broken and what was in the Flasks mixed

I draw on you for Guidago for one 2½ point blanket, one shirt, one silk handkerchief, one pint of salt and give him also in addition four pints of [MS. illegible]. La Comble is ill Beaudain has been taken with small-pox.

L. G.

I left at home a woolen Capot so that Catiche might fix it if the Doctor does not give you an account for having cared for me, do me the favor of asking him for it If he does not give it to you, do me the favor of making my Excuses and beg him to Accept the Capot.

L. G.

Mr. John Lawe La Bay [pr] Guidago

Endorsed by Lawe: Letter from Louis Grignon 29th Oct 1819 Butte d'Mort

---

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B63.]

Green Bay 3rd November 1819

Dear Sir—You will receive this by Mr. Laurance[88] who is going to join you upon the same terms you and him agreed upon before you left this place if it meets with your approbation, as he has got a License[89] from Col° Bowyer at last after Colonel Smith[90] Interesting himself he has it for to Trade with the Indians on the Fox River Ouisconsin River & its de-

---

[88] Roderick Lawrence was in 1818 clerk for the American Fur Company at Lac du Flambeau, and was there discharged. He is supposed to have been a former American soldier. After his trading venture in 1819, wherein as an American citizen he served as an agent for the Green Bay traders, he disappears from view.—Ed.

[89] Since Louis Grignon did not succeed in getting a license for himself, the device of getting one in the name of an American citizen was resorted to. See description of this ruse in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 277–279.—Ed.

[90] For a careful sketch of Col. Joseph Lee Smith, commandant at Green Bay (1819-21), see *Ibid*, p. 215, note.—Ed.

pendencies & upper Mississippi & its Waters. In case that you should have forgot the Terms it is that I become responsible to you or your order in the all the month of June next for the Amount of Goods sold by you to Mr. Laurance and this will be your voucher for the same & then this Mr. Laurance will give you his Note of hand in favor of me or my order payable in the month of June next for the same Amt. Mr. Laurance obligates himself to Trade the Indian Goods he bought from you in the Indian Country and the Returns of these Goods he will put into your hands for me & he to come back here with them and he is obligated that you are to be his Interpreter for the Trading of these Goods you sold him and as he is not well acquainted with the Indian Trade he puts every Confidence & trust in your hands to do for the best with these Goods. Wishing you a pleasant winter I remain your friend

JOHN LAWE

Mr. Louis Grignon En Route, per favor of Roderick Laurance Esquire.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B64.]

Nov. 5th 1819

I cannot help writing one line to the Patent Binnacle Bullseye illuminator.[91] I advise you to quit your boat & take a large bark Canoe. I was all one day in going 18 miles & I had 3 men & no loading. your boat left here yesterday.

R[ODERICK] L[AWRENCE]

COCHOLAN RAPIDS Nov. 5th

P. S. I shall see you before long, enquire for me at the stores as you pass the country. your boat would have got further but your boy will not give whiskey to drink & Rouse gives to each 5 glasses a day.

L. Devotion Esq. Green Bay Terry Michigan.

Endorsed: R. Laurance October [sic] 5, 1819.

---

[91] Evidently a pleasantry, probably referring to Devotion's marksmanship.—ED.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 5B65. Translated from the French.]

Le Portage du Wisconsin 9 Nov. 1819.

My Dear Sir—I received your letter yesterday with your plan by the two Indians Woikitan and Chawounon. I much wish that it might have come eight days sooner. I await Mr. Laurance here. I have written him to come as rapidly as possible. There seems to be, as I told you in my first letter a number of savages on the lower Wisconsin. I should have secured both here and along my route if I had dared about 1000 rats. According to the report of the Savages there is a Trader on the Lower Wisconsin. I much hope that you have taken the license for the Wisconsin if we carry out your idea of wintering. You did not mention my doing so but if I myself learn the necessary precautions for remaining with Mr. Lawrance, and if I am permitted to enter as Interpreter [I shall winter there] If Augustin is not disturbed there is much to hope from his Outfit and he has already made a Good start, his savages have done well in rats. He will be here with me soon. There can be nothing done with Mr. F. Roy[92] because he insists on having things that cannot be given him. However I am still Working with him, but I believe without success. I will make him a small advance. I give you notice that I am short five pairs of 2½ point blankets as you will see by the recapitulation of the condition of the bales, written by your self on a box of lead. I have had only eighty three pounds, and of the Pork I can assure you not more than half can be eaten since the bones in the Pork are so heavy. I believe that these things happened without your knowledge. What I most regret are the blankets as I must furnish them to my men. La Comble has drunk up three blankets, two shirts, one hat all in his favor for three pints of Whiskey from Mr. Houll.

Nothing more to mention. I am quite unwell. My compliments to all my friends. Write me at every opportunity. I

[92] For this person, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 396, note 44.—Ed.

will return you the change that I got of our friend Pierre and will write again before leaving here. Wishing you health and prosperity, dear Sir, Your Servant and friend

L. GRIGNON

[*To John Lawe*]

1819: LICENSES REVOKED

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1D76.]

MACKINAC Novr 12th 1819

Dr SIR—Nothing has transpired here in your Department From your departure worthy notice. I recd by the last vessel from Detroit the late decision of the Honbl. the Secy of War respecting persons claiming to be American Citizens under Jays Treaty, and an order from Govr. Cass to revoke all licenses granted to such persons, also an order to the Comy. to Issue Rations on the Returns of the Agent. I deem it unnecessary to say more on those Subjects as you will visit Washington this winter when you will be fully informed of the orders and regulation issued for the government of Agents and others concerned. I have enclosed you a copy of a report made at the request of Gov. Cass I presume he was called on by the Government as he speaks of D[rummond] Island and other British Ports. It is too late in the season to get full and Satisfactory information on the different points or subjects, the communication from and to D Island having entirely ceased, tho I am of opinion that the information given by the persons alluded to can be relied on and I feel persuaded that you can get from them any information you may require next Spring. It will be absolutely necessary that you return early in the Spring. I Shall be ordered on the recruiting service and shall leave this in May. Should you not return please urge the Secy to Send on an Agent by the first Vessels from Detroit next Spring. I will endeavor to remain until your return or the arrival of an Agent.

Let us know what will be done with the Army this Winter and

if any change will be made in your Department. Should you not return give me your Appointment here if you can. I would remain for three years and then retire to a Farm to pass away the remainder of my days in peace and quiet. I have my business nearly arranged as I contemplated. the expenses of this post is not over $1,000 this year and I am convinced it will not exceed 5 or 6 hundred the next, say exclusive of nails Iron & &c for the purpose of repairing the Buildings and building Boats locks &c. I wish you would inquire the expences of this post for the last three years. I have from information which I think correct made up about $5 or 6,000 wood 2,500 extra pay 1,200 half rations added to men on furloug[h]s 1000 other consingent expenses mean $1000—500 was paid [Ms torn] Stone for the use of the Commissioners. I will write you by the express on the first of Jan^{y}. write me I shall get your letter by Return of the express in March I presume you will see Stewart in Washington at all events you must see his sister give my respects to Madam & family tell Joshua[93] he must be a good boy while at the M. Academy and qualify himself for a Gen^{l} or admiral I am with respect yr ob. Ser & friend

W. Lawrence[94]

G. Boyd Esqr.

Endorsed: Copy of Letter from Col Lawrence Acting Indian Agent at Mackina to Mr Boyd. dated the 12 Nov 1819 to be returned to Mr Boyd Jany 25 1820

Recd. the 22d. Jany 1820 George Boyd.

---

[93] Joshua Johnson Boyd, for whom see *Id*, xii, pp. 268, 269.—Ed.

[94] Col. William Lawrence was of a Maryland family, being first commissioned lieutenant in 1801. By the time of the War of 1812–15, he had risen to a captaincy and was commended for gallant action at the siege of Fort Bowyer, Ala. In 1814 he became major and was transferred to the 8th infantry. In 1818 he was made lieutenant-colonel, and was stationed at Mackinac, where in 1819 he acted as Indian agent in the absence of Col. George Boyd. In 1820, Lawrence was a short time in command at Green Bay. In 1828 he became colonel of the 5th infantry and was stationed at Green Bay where he remained in command until his resignation (1831) from the army. Ten years later, he died.—Ed.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington, Pressmark: Indian Office, Letters Received, 1819; Gov. Cass, p. 390.]

Mackinac 13th. November 1819

Dear Sir—I am urged by several persons who have been furnished with Indians Goods, by the American Fur Company, to represent the many severe losses, and very serious inconveniences they are frequently subjected to, from the apparent want of defined instructions in possession of the Indian Agents. I will now instance one case; a Mr. Porlier of Green Bay, who last year received from Mr. Woodbridge, a certificate of Citizenship, and under which, Col. Bowyer granted him permission to trade; he was this year again licensed, (or promised a license), and it was not until all the expenses of the Outfit had been incurred, that he was informed he could not enter the Indian Country as a Trader: this extraordinary *reversal,* is said to have been determined on, in consequence of some papers sent by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, at Washington, to the Factor at Green Bay; be this as it may, it is a fact, that the Col. has revoked a number of licenses he had but a short time previously issued; which will cause the total ruin of several honest and industrious Men, besides, it is the most certain method imaginable, to keep the Indians in continual discontent and ferment.

Such oppression and inconsistency will I am convinced be speedily remedied by you Sir. And I hope you will excuse the liberty I take, in requesting that you will have the goodness to cause me to be informed, early next spring, what length of residence in the United States, entitles persons to Citizenship, immediately on application? How, and where they can obtain it? And whether County Courts of Territories, have jurisdiction over such cases?

Herewith I have the pleasure of sending you a small parcel of Wild-rice, which, I am sorry is all that now remains of our stock, had we thought of it in time, we could have sent you a much larger quantity. Please offer my respects to Mrs. Cass,

and believe me to be with much respect etc. Dear Sir Your Mo. Obt. Servt.

ROBERT STUART.

To His Excellency Gov: Cass. Detroit. pr. Genl. Jackson Capt. Blake.

1819: AMERICAN CLERK EMPLOYED

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 29C35.]

In all the month of June next I promise to pay John Lawe or his Order the sum of Four Thousand Five Hundred and Sixty Five Dollars 23/100 for amount of goods sold us by Louis Grignon to be traded by me in the Indian country & the returns of these goods to be delivered into the hands of John Lawe at Green Bay.

RODK LAWRENCE.

OUISCONSONG PORTAGE Novr 13th 1819

1819: LICENSES REVOKED

MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office, Letters Received, 1819; Gov. Cass, p. 424.]

MACKINAC 21st. Novr. 1819.

SIR—In addition to my respects of 13th. inst., relative to the *late* decision of Indian Agents, (revoking all licenses granted to persons of *foreign birth,* who have not been naturalized according to the Acts of Congress, on that subject,) I have to inform you, of my having received communications from Messrs. Jacques Porlier, Pierre, Augustin, and Charles Grignon, of Green Bay, stating, that in consequence of some of them having received Licenses, and the others being promised, by Col. Bowyer; they made considerable Credits to the Indians; which under the existing regulations, they are not permitted to enter the Indian Country, to collect. On the cruelty of this measure,

it is unnecessary I am confident, to comment to you Sir: Nor can it be supposed for a moment, that any of the Heads of Departments, would wittingly issue any Order, which could tend to the distress of individuals, in the upright prosecution of their affairs; and what makes the present case the more deserving of the utmost stretch of lenity, is, that those people were acting under the sanction, and good faith, of the public Agents of Government; and could not possibly foresee the difficulties they are so unexpectedly plunged into.

I therefore take the liberty to beg, that unless contrary to your public duties, you will have the goodness to order, (by the first express to Chicago etc.,) that the Agent at Green Bay, permit those persons to follow the Indians, so far as it may be necessary, in order to draw their Credits, only. I am respectfully, Sir Your Mo. Obt. Servt.

ROBERT STUART

To His Excellency Governor Cass Detroit

1819: SKINS TAMPERED WITH

[Source, same as preceding document, but Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 362.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE Decemr. 1st. 1819

To John W. Johnson Esqr U S. Factor P. du Chien

SIR—A serious misfortune has happened somewhere with the furs from Ft. Osage generally, and with your Otter skins especially, unless indeed as I have written to Mr. Sibley,[95] there

---

[95] George C. Sibley was born in Massachusetts in 1782. His boyhood was passed first in North Carolina, then in Louisiana Territory, where his father, Dr. John Sibley of the Revolutionary army, removed about the close of the Spanish regime. In 1807 George Sibley was appointed factor for Fort Osage, which was built the following year. There he remained until the abolition of the factory system, except during the unsafe years of the War of 1812–15. In 1824 Sibley was one of three commissioners on the Santa Fé road. The remainder of his life was passed in retirement in St. Charles County, Mo. His papers are part of the valuable collections of the Missouri Historical Society, at St. Louis.—ED.

were no good furs taken in this year at all. Every Species of fur is not only miserable as to quality, but cut literally to pieces by Worms. The Otter Skins from you, are not over half size —and the Muskrat skins very inferior. Now if you received such, there is no help for it, but if you sent off better than these, some exchange must have been made on their way in. But where I cannot imagine.

Mr. Kennerly[96] may have been absent from St. Louis, which is however only supposition, but if he was absent, advantage might have been taken of that absence at St. Louis. If he was present, during the continuance of the furs, no doubt the fraud was committed between St. Louis and Pittsburg. I could wish enquiries could be made to ellicit some light on this subject. Meanwhile however troublesome it may seem, in future I wish a mark put on every skin with Paint. Respectfully etc

T. L. McK[ENNEY]

1819. RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP

[MS. in Burton Library, Detroit. Pressmark: Vol. 114, p. 51.]

OLD PT COMFORT VA. 21 December 1819

The Honorable W. Woodbridge

DEAR SIR—I take the liberty herewith of enclosing for your perusal and consideration as delegate from Michigan, a letter & an exposition of grievances Complained of, from Mr. P. Grignon of Green Bay.

Impressed with a full belief of your Urbane disposition for the Inhabitants of that, As yet oppressed Section of our Country, induces me to address those papers to you, confident that your Zealous exertions will Succeed to remove all further Cause of Complaint and Establish a right of Citisenship among that, I am Sure friendly people to our Government & Institutions.

---

[96] For sketch of James Kennerly see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 448, note 78.—ED.

Accept the assurance of my high respect & Consideration. I remain very respectfully your most Hbt Svt

C. Gartiot[97]

1820: WINNEBAGO HOSTILITIES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office, Letters Received, 1820; Gov. Cass, p. 129.]

Green bay January 3. 1820

Sir—Early in the month of September last as I was returning from the Prairie du Chien, I met Mr. Armitinger on the Ouisconsance River (who informed me that when he was crossing the Winnebago lake an Indian came to the beach and fired on his boat, he directed his crew to proceed and never mind him. A second shot was fired and the ball lodged in the mast of his boat, they then rowed to shore when all the Indians ran back to the woods. I saw the ball myself which had been picked out of the boats mast. Yours respectfully

Lewis Morgan

To Colo. Smith 3d. Inftr'y

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 131.]

Greenbay 5 January 1820

Sir—In August last a party of Winnebagoes fired upon Captain Whistler, at the entrance of the Winnebago Lake, about forty miles from this place: Captain Whistler had with him a

---

[97] Charles Gratiot was the son of the Revolutionary patriot of that name, who died in 1817. The son was born in St. Louis (1788), educated at West Point (1806), and entered the army in the engineering corps, where he won distinction as chief engineer of Harrison's army during the War of 1812–15. He aided in the construction of Fort Meigs, and in the expedition against Mackinac (1814). At the close of the war he was placed in charge of the fortifications at Hampton Roads, and there built Fort Monroe. Later he was chief of the engineering department (1828), and inspector at West Point. He died in St. Louis in 1855.—Ed.

party of 4 or five soldiers and three of his Children; and the flag of the United States was conspicuously exhibited from a staff at the stern of his batteaux: the shot passed through the awning of his boat. (1)

About the same time, a Mr. Armitinger an Indian trader, on his passage from this, to the Mississippi was also, as I am credibly informed, fired upon in passing through the same Lake; and one of the balls discharged struck in the mast of the boat, against which he was at the moment leaning. (2).

Doctr. Maddison, Surgeon of the 3d., in passing up Fox River about the first of October last, was treated with so much insolence by the Winnebagoes, near the same place, at which Captain Whitler [sic] and Mr. Armitinger were fired upon, that he considered himself, and the small party with him, unsafe. (3)

Toward the close of November a herd of Cattle, for the Assistant Commissary at this Post, having arrived within two days march, the drover near Manitouwalk [Manitowoc] upon the Shore of Lake Michigan, was attacked by several indians, robbed of his Portmanteau etc., and one of the Cattle taken from him and killed. Several Soldiers were employed in conducting these cattle, but the drover at this time, had fallen some miles in the rear, with a view of bringing up such as had strayed behind when the Indians availed themselves of the opportunity, thus presented, to plunder him as above. (4)

A few days since, on the first instant, a soldier of the garrison, belonging to Capt. Grosvenors[98] Company was assaulted within a short distance of the Fort, stabbed and supposed at first to be mortally wounded. The outrage was perpetrated by several Menomonce Indians, and their object, in which they succeeded, said to be to obtain a small quantity of Whiskey, which the soldier had in his canteen. The particulars of this transaction are now in a course of investigation. (5)

---

[98] Capt. George Henry Grosvenor entered the army from New York in 1814, as captain of the 26th infantry; in 1815 he was transferred to the 3d infantry, being in 1819 stationed at Green Bay. He was honorably discharged June 1, 1821.—Ed.

TSHI-ZUN-HAU-KAU

A Winnebago warrior. From colored lithograph in McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1854), i, p. 195

The attack upon the Drover, at Manitouwalk was committed by several young chippewas, one of whom after consultation with the Indian Agent, was arrested and confined in the Fort: He was treated with kindness, and upon the exhibition of much sorrow for his misconduct, the solicitation of his relatives and their promise to make compensation to the owner of the Cattle, was set at liberty. Those concerned with him left the vicinity and could not be apprehended.

The Smoker,[99] the great chief of the Winnebagoes was arrested by the Indian Agent, on account of the attack upon Captain Whistler, and detained some time in the Fort, about the close of August—But upon his promise to apprehend and deliver at this post, the party which had been guilty of the firing and which at this time had passed to the Mississippi upon a hunting expedition, I thought proper to discharge him.

The Winnebagos who are reputed to be vicious and are an active tribe, previously to the misconduct which I have detailed, passed this Fort, where they made many expressions of friendship to the United States, and received some presents, being then on their way, as they said, to Mackinac: they however proceeded to Drummonds Island; obtained British presents—and returned passing up Fox river, without halting at the Fort, as they had led me to expect they would do. And since in an excursion up the river in October I have found on an eminence, about a league short of the Winnebago Lake, the English flag erected and flying, which I caused to be taken down and destroyed.

I have reported these transactions not from an opinion that

---

[99] The Smoker (Charatchou, Tshayrotshoankaw) was son of Serachou (or Sarrochau), who had a village at Taycheedah, at the southern end of Lake Winnebago. The father took part in the War of 1812–15, dying soon after its close. Augustin Grignon speaks of him as "one of the best of Indians." The son was present at the treaty of Prairie du Chien in 1825; at that of Butte des Morts in 1827, and again in 1828. He signed neither the treaty of 1829, nor that of 1832 His village in the former year, according to John Kinzie's report, consisted of eight lodges and 145 inhabitants. He was with the whites in pursuit of Black Hawk. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiii, pp. 444–447, 453.—Ed.

they have resulted from a spirit of hostility, generally existing in any particular tribe, or combination of tribes, against the United States, which may lead to more dangerous aggressions hereafter; but, as evidence of the mischievous character of savages generally, and of the great evils that may be expected from them, to the white people of our Country, upon this, and other remote frontiers, unless kept in constant check, by a display of force, suited to their complete control and as a proof also, if such were wanting, that their evil and unfriendly propensities are particularly displayed, after having been permitted to visit and receive presents etc. in a foreign state.

I have also considered it a duty to make this communication from an apprehension that vague, incorrect and exaggerated statements on the subject to which it relates, might be made to Government or to the Public; and thus unnecessary alarms be excited and in the hope also that it may produce instructions, as to the course which I shall pursue hereafter, to prevent or punish a recurrence of similar evils.

Not knowing when, or at what place, this letter may reach you, I have transmitted a duplicate of it to the War Department —and have the honor, to be etc. etc.

Jos: L. Smith
Col: 3 d, Infty.

To Major Genl J. Brown Commg. N. D. U. S. Army.

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 25.]

Fort Howard January 13th. 1820

Sir—I have the honor to state, that on the 9th. of August last, as I was passing a Village of the Winnebago Indians, situated at the entrance of the Winnebago Lake, My boat was fired on by a party of that tribe, who were assembled on the Shore. I immediately Ordered my boat to stop, and directed my Interpreter to enquire the cause of this unexpected Attack on the American Flag, which was hoisted on my approach to the Village; in reply I was given to understand that they com-

manded the passage, and required all Boats to stop and report to them, having sustained no injury from their fire, and not willing to enter into any altercation with them, I Ordered my men to proceed, which they permitted without further molestation. I am Sir respectfully Your Most Obt. Servt.

WM. WHISTLER *Capt 3d. Regt. of Iny.*

Col. Bowyer Indian Agent

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 27.]

GREEN BAY AGENCY January 15th. 1820

SIR—I have made every exertion, to furnish you with the Strength of the Winebego tribe of Indians, but as yet have not received information to be depended upon, the last Spring I had a long conversation with the Blue Hawk, the most intelligent chief of the tribe,[1] he thinks they are about One Thousand warriors, strong, from twelve to fifteen hundred women, of the children he could give no information, I engaged him to go through the nation, and bring me a Red Bean, for every man, a Yellow one for the grown women, and a white one for the children, and promised to reward him for his services. I have not heard from him since, but expect to see him in the Spring, this tribe in Summer resides, on the Ousconsin and head waters of the Fox and Rock rivers, they plant corn, pumkins, Beans, Potatoes, etc, the Winebego lake furnishes them with large Quantities of Rice, they are good hunters, and their women Industrious. This is the best information, I have been able to Obtain of the Situation [of] this Tribe, their

[1] Probably the Winnebago Black Hawk—the color of the plumage of the bird might be indifferently described as blue or black. This Black Hawk (Hay-ray-tshon sarp) was an important chieftain of his tribe, and signed the treaties of 1829 and 1832. Walking Cloud, his son, was interviewed by the present writer in 1887; see *Ibid*, pp. 463–467. During his latter years Black Hawk lived in Jackson County, where later, another Winnebago of the same name lived four miles from Black River Falls. *Id*, xii, p. 430.—ED.

character with the white, and Red People is bad, they are great liers, and Robbers, no dependance can be placed in what they say; I have since my coming to this Country, considered this tribe unfriendly, to the Government of the United States, and that nothing but a Strong military force, could Keep them in Order, The enclosed letter from Captain Whistler, will Shew you their conduct to him when Assending the Fox river, Shortly after the fireing on our Flag, I am informed they fired upon a trading Boat, at the same place and believed to be the same party a ball lodged in the mast, of the Boat, above the head of the master, at the same place Doctor Madison of the Army, was Stopped his Baggage searched, himself and crew ill treated. Shortly after Captain Whistler was fired on, the Principal chief of the Tribe, paid me a visit, I confined him in the Fort for a few days, but his presisting in his Ignorance of the Transaction, and Declareing, if the report was true, he would deliver me the leader of the party, before the Ice [was] made if he was above the Ground, I liberated him, Assuring him at the Same time if he did not bring me the chief who fired on the United States Flag, if the report was correct, I would send the first chief, that came to Green Bay in Spring, to the Fort, and hold him in confinement untill I received the Orders of the President, this I shall do unless I receive your instructions to the contrary. I am confident nothing but a Strong Garrison at the Portage of Ousconsin will Keep this Tribe in Order, In my next I will write you fully on the Situation of the Menominee Tribe, at present I am not able to give the information I wish, I am Sir very Respectfully your Obt. Servt.

[John Bowyer]

His Excellency Gov Cass

1820: DIFFICULTIES OF WISCONSIN TRADERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 6B14.]

.. Wisconsing Jany 10th 18[20]

Dear Sir—Although it would give me great pleasure to hear from you, I cannot say that I take much satisfaction in writing to you, as I have nothing very agreeable to communicate. The times here are extremly dull; the chase is pursued here without energy & finished without perseverance Consequently the returns of peltries are extremely small & limited. The appearances at present are not at all encouraging; what changes may take place for my advantage I cannot tell. I have made a society with *Gun*[2] by the advice of a *friend* & hope all will enable me to pay my debts & have something as there are some months before me. I have been unwell all winter & M[r] L Grignon by his sickness which is of a very serious nature has been detained here to this time He proposes to go to the Prairie on the passing of the Trains [sleighs] of M[r] Devotion but I think he will expose himself to a severe relapse & advise him to rest tranquil. wishing you every blessing I am your friend & Serv[t]

Rod[k] Lawrence

P. S. Please to present my best compliments & Respects to Mess[r] P. A. Grignon Col[o] Smith & Doctor Mc Mahon[3] & other friends. I am seriously indisposed having put out my Knee & Knee pan & not having medicine At the Prairie I was under the care of the Doctor some days always unfortunate

Endorsed: Roderique Laurence Jany 20 1820 Wuisconsing
John Lawe Esqr. Green Bay

---

[2] John Gunn, an American who afterwards settled at Green Bay and married there.—Ed.

[3] Dr. J. Ponte Coulant MacMahon entered the army in 1817 from the District of Columbia, as surgeon's mate of the 3d infantry. In 1819 he became post-surgeon, and was stationed for some time at Green Bay, where he was friendly with the citizens. After passing through various grades he resigned in 1836, and died the next year—Ed.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B5. Translated from the French.]

Ousiconsin 10 January 1820

Sir & Friend—I profit by the opportunity of some passing Indians, to communicate to you what relates to our business, and what can I say, only that This Equipment is a Total loss nothing can change that unless a Miracle happens. There has been no Hunting in this region, the great evil of the Savages of the Lower part of this river is that they are seized with a desire for the *Prairie,* and in consequence have carried their peltries there. Everything for the Savages is Very Cheap at that post. Mr. Belsher passed here the 5th of the present month with eight vehicles [voitures] to find Mr. Devotion and his goods. He told me the opposition was very strong in their quarter. I send you this letter and two others addressed to you, I suppose from Messrs. R. & M. and several addressed to different ones with the chance of your receiving them. Enclosed is a part of a letter from Mr. Rolette on the Subject of the Blankets that Mr. Brisbois left in passing La Bay, by the way the latter is his Clerk. Mr. Laurence has made an arrangement with Mr. Gunn I gave him my Opinion that under the circumstances and considering the appearance of the Credits that have been made he would lose thereby. The Savages of le Bas[4] have had Plenty of peltry according to what Moreau says as reported to me by the passers-by; the gentlemen lower down than St. Croix do not make much, Except Mr. Felixe at the river aux Chats.[5] He has many renards, folles and Puants. Mr. Maynard[6] will

[4] Probably the expression refers to what was known to the traders as "le bas Lac aux Cedres Rouge" (lower Red Cedar Lake), now known as Cedar Lake, situated in Aitkin County, Minnesota. This had been the site of the fur-trade post for many years. In 1805 Pike found a British trader at this post, which was reached either via the Mississippi or by portages from the head of Lake Superior.—Ed.

[5] Wild Cat Creek, in the modern county of Houston, Minnesota, not far below La Crosse. At its mouth is the present town of Brownsville.—Ed.

[6] Jean Baptiste Mayrand was a well-known inhabitant of Prairie du

make a Big Stroke probably. He has Many folls and other Savages with him in the St. Croix as the passers-by tell me.

Mr. Porlier winters on the river near me with Mr. Gunn, and Mr. Lawrence below the Detour des pins.[7] I am overrun with the Savages who are on their way to the portage. I write you at every opportunity.

In regard to our old friend Mr. Porlier, He is very much affected by the loss of his youngest Child, so that it is hard to turn his thoughts he feels this Death the more that coming in the Decline of life the child was very Dear to him. during the winter He has been very ill and I also more than usual.

The men Having received the greater part of their Wages, annoy me much except Amable & Beauchant.

Nothing more only to renew the assertion of the confidence I place in you for the Care of my family and Interests—a fact of which you are already persuaded.

Accept my New Years' wishes for your health and prosperity my dear Sir, Your sincere obedient Servant and friend

L. Grignon

Mr. John Lawe La Baye Verte
Endorsed: by Lawe: Louis Grignon 10 January 1820 Wuisconsing,

---

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B6. John Lawe to Louis Grignon.]

Green Bay 11th Jany 1820

Dear Sir—In haste I take the opportunity of Pierish Grignon[8] who is just going off this moment & says that he will go &

Chien. His naturalization papers in the Wisconsin Historical Library (pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 61B11) state that he resided there before 1797. He married a Winnebago woman, and had several children enrolled among the half-breeds. It would by this document seem that his post for 1819–20, and probably for a longer period, was on the St. Croix.—Ed.

[7] Pine Bend (Detour des Pins) is thought to have been just below Helena, on the Wisconsin River, near the present Hillside.—Ed.

[8] For this person see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 368, note 18.—Ed.

See you which I am very happy off as he can give you every Information you require of this place. in the first place there is nothing very Interesting to communicate to you from this Quarter. all is dull in regard to business here appearances so far is not very flattering the Hunt in general is faild all threwout this part of the Country, & we do not here of one particular Spot about where the Indians makes any kind of a Hunt its worse then last year. we have had no News upon the Follavoine [Menominee] River as yet, as the Ice has been very late taking in the Lake this year but I suppose it will not turn out better there then elsewhere of thispart of the Country there is no person (say) Traders wintering there this year its all Indians that is Traders in that part & if that will do any good I have my good share of them in that Quarter. the Americans has a good deal of Goods on Commission in that part of the Country allso. I sold Goods to Mr John Whalan [Whelan] of Mc Kinac who you know very well it was Mr Mason that sent him here to me. but he would not take the Goods excepting making a great Discount which I did of 20 per Cent. I thought it was best to do that then to keep the Goods on hands but still I think he will meet with a very heavy loss on them as his Expences is Enormous on 7 pieces of Strouds with a good assortment he did not place himself where I told him to go as I thought it was for his advantage as well as mine he was to have gone and wintered at the Village de Waukau[9] that was the Plan but instead of that he went & placed himself at the Village of Old A'leinest[10] it is neither one thing or the other, it is quite out of the way but it cannot be helped, he has Charles Grignon[11] Lousignon, Langlois, Latonah, & Plaset with him so you may judge that his Expenses on them Goods is very heavy, I

[9] For the location of Menominee village of Waukau see Powell's "Recollections," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1912, p. 152—Ed.

[10] The exact site of this village is not known—it is the same as that called "De la Laine" in the next document. Probably it was not far from Winneconne.—Ed.

[11] For Charles Grignon see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 89, note 25. It should further be stated that he died in January, 1840.—Ed.

hear from him most every Week but he is doing nothing the Indians makes no hunt in that Quarter he has Lousignon that runs the Derouin on the Font du Lac [of Lake Winnebago] & Charles on the River du Loup [Wolf River] but all to no purpose where there is nothing what can you do. the Indians about here is Numerous more I believe than usual just waiting till the Lake Froze to go to their usual Hunt Spearing Fish & that is all the good they will do for themselves Or for us either—enough upon this head we will talk of yr private affairs[12]

1820: WINTERING IN WISCONSIN

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B11. Translated from the French.]

Village de La Laine January 18, 1820

Sir—I give myself the pleasure of writing you this Line to apprise you that the Nuit noire [Black Night] has one Bear skin here and 3 martens, and he takes some fishers and martens with him, I do not know how many, and his Nephew carries 1 fisher and perhaps something Else, but I do not think so.

I have just arrived yesterday from a Drouine of 11 days. All the Savages are fasting. I brought in 40 skins, 3 beavers, 2 fishers 3 wildcats and 1 plus[13] of meat and Fat the peltry is a part of the Credit. Dear Sir I am at my wit's end, if the savages killed fur peltry I would range but they do not kill any and the Expense is so Great that I dare not hire a Guide to look for Other Savages, if I was certain of Securing Some thing without its costing me more than I make, but every day that I travel without finding any I must be able to live. Mr. Whalene at this house has no man for a guardian but young Nuit noir. Mr. Whalene has gone to Lusignan's and I can give you no news from there.

---

[12] This letter, unfinished and unsigned, is in John Lawe's handwriting, and was written to Louis Grignon.—Ed.

[13] For the significance of these terms of trade see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 178, 200, notes 49 and 86 respectively.—Ed.

There is no other News that merits your attention. I await the pleasure of your news and of seeing you, I beg you to Believe me with all the Esteem possible Your very humble Servant

C. Grignon

The Nuit Noir wishes a Kettle, please try to procure one for him for I have none to sell, and have taken a Beaver for one in advance. My Compliments to Chaput Your Servant

C. Grignon

Monsieur John Lawe, a La Baye verte

Endorsed by Lawe: Charle Grignon 18 January 1820 Village De la Laine.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B13.]

Prairie du Chien 20 Janr 1820

Dear Sir—I Embrace the opportunity of the sleighs who are going to bring Mr Devotion to acknowledge the receit of your letter by Mr Moreau who is passing the Winter Months with me. I drew from Mr Lockwood all your papers and have notified Mr Franks of it—every thing in that way will be right.

As Mr Brisbois Junr by the most Stupid acts of any man left Four Bales Blankets with you which Has prevented me to Sell all my goods. I beg of you to forward by a Safe Conveyance as far as the Portage the two bales unsold, which I will not Sell at any price—as I have engaged them.

Had Mr Moreau not assured me that Mr Grignon was to bring them I certainly would have Sent for them last fall. what might be his notion for Sending such Message I do not Know, but he is the occasion of a great deal of loss for me as a good turn deserves another, at all Events try to forward what is left.

No News here every thing is dull and it is impossible for us to Sell Christian goods with the Americans. Our Civil authority does all they can to do well and no one has a right to Complain. It is the first winter Since peace has taken place that we enjoy liberty and are dealt with as free men. It seems to me

although they can be no returns it is a new World since that T. Chambers is no more here.

Dancing and Frolicking goes on the usual rate every body is on a good understanding and that because every man is independent Wishing you & your family well I remain yours

Jo^{s} Rolette

John Lawe Esqr Green Bay

1820: TRANSPORTATION DIFFICULTIES

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B16.]

Green Bay 22 Jany 1820

My dear Sir—I duly received yours of the 15th Inst Yesterday and do not lose one Moment in answering you. I am happy to hear you are a going to leave your hermitage for to go to a better place which I am sure it will be in every respect as your Interest calls you there. in relation to the terms of the transportation of your Goods you have realy put the Sum too low you allow four Dollars per piece but you must recollect when only 4 Dollars per piece is given the owners of the property pays all the portages and another thing you will please to remark when them prices is given the season is so far advanced that there is not half the Misery & fatigue to undergo as there will be at that early season of the year and another thing you will please take notice that your Goods is packed up quite differently all in Barrels it is not like taking Kegs & small Bales of Goods up the Rapids that is one of the great obstacles in the way with the men which is very true. I am so very particular in pausing & making these remarks to you as the Men is so very hard to be got when a person wants to hire them to go at that season of the year then they take every advantage & they will represent every hardship & obstacles that the pieces is unhandy & the water is too cold & too high and every thing is dangerous—which is all true by the by I would not go myself upon any terms at that Season of the year on that Trip if I should be obliged to work myself—but I am not a going to tell them so

you know it will require at least 10 Men for 2 Boats & a man besides to take care of the property 2 perhaps the Men will not engage to go 5 to a Boat they will require Six Men at that Season of the year per Boat so you can see what it will be when we Engage 13 Men more out of the Bay at that time, you may judge upon what terms we will get them on. the 2 Boats will be very heavy loaded it will make more Pieces than you have estimated them at least 12 or 15 pieces more I will now leave it to yourself as I have no advantage G–d knows deriving from it in the least but I would not wish to be a Loser if possible by it you may think perhaps that we may have the advantage of geting in our Debts by it, but it is not so Sir, as the Debts will remain the same & we will be obliged to give them people & their Families all their wants before they start to encourage to get them to go otherways they would not go. I think that 700 Dollars & you to pay all the Portages is not too much but I will prepare & get every thing in readiness for the First opening of the navigation to take them on as I would not wish you to be disappointed upon any Account so that if you will give more it is at your option to do so. otherwise we will meet with a heavy loss: so that you can now depend of having your Goods to come on as early as possible, I shall write you by every opportunity offering and hope you will not fail doing the same remember me to all Friends wishing you every Success in all your undertakings. Mr. P. Grignon [and] Col Bowyer desires their best respects to you believe me to be your friend & most obtd hble Sevt

JOHN LAWE

N. B. I hire an Indian a purpose to go on with this Letter so that you may get it soon. J. L.

Louis Devotion Esquire Merchant Prairie du Chien per Indian

Endorsed: 22. Janvier 1820 Green Bay

1820: WINTERING ON THE WISCONSIN

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B19. Translated from the French.]

January 25, 1820

SIR AND FRIEND—I send you what you ask for. Seeing your man I hoped that you were following him speedily as you had announced to me, I had prepared to receive you in advance, but you have disappointed me. However I do not wish for you, hoping you will give me satisfaction as soon as your infirmities leave you. I have not given up my journey to the prairie, but, as in all things that Cost I have put it off. If I decide to go finally, I will let you know, if I do not see you myself to give the information. I am again very much obliged to you for the fourth volume that you sent me. I take a new interest in the reading of the romance. I find in it facts and expressions that are forced, so to speak; but the different characters that are there depicted make an interesting Code of morals. I regret that I am not in the flower of my youth in order to profit thereby. But I will try and use it in favor of those who are to replace me.

The savages belonging here do nothing but travel, I have not failed however, during 8 days to have a houseful of them always bringing nothing. I have tried to send my men to the river á la roche [Rock River], but they have not been able to follow the trail of 2 persons leaving the evening before forsooth!

Polhythe[14] has been as far as la bas, he has brought back 1 bear, 10 deer skins and 2 dressed buck skins.

I am so put out with my Savages that I can scarcely see them without seizing them by the cravat, also getting embroiled with them. Chonquippe, whom I took for a piece of perfection, came

[14] Hippolyte (Polhythe) or Paul Porlier was the second son of Judge Jacques Porlier. He married Marguerite, daughter of Simon Chorette, and in 1838 they had three children and were living at Green Bay.—ED.

in on his Credit of 4 plus & admitted when I persisted in asking him if he had secured the peltries for it, that he had used 10 dressed deer skins as a sacrifice, and as many Buck skins for a feast: Did you ever see such a boaster?

I am just now without meat, but I shall console myself if all the puants [Winnebago] perish of hunger. All my regards to Mr. Lawrence. I expect him for Mardi Gras. Your Servant & friend

JQ. PORLIER

Charleau is here and has made a very fair hunt, he has taken 10 Beaver and killed 2 bears. He has come for some grain, I have refused him, but as he has decided to go to you, I determined to [give him some] all the more that he gives me an opportunity to go among the puants of the Kekapou River

Mr. L. Grignon.

1820: NEWS FROM RED RIVER

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C51. Translated from the French.]

RIVIER ROUGE January 31, 1820

DEAR JACQUE—Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have come very near departing this life. At present I am well. Amable Grignon has gone to the Tabasca [Athabasca] and I have heard by a man of that region that he was very well liked by his bourgeois and that he had had two skirmishes with the northwesters this is all I have learned about Amable.[15] Mr peter powell has gone near to Lake Rouge for Mr Graham[16] and

---

[15] For Amable Grignon see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 469, note 92. His services in the Hudson Bay region are there detailed. The "skirmish with the northwesters" refers to the rivalry between the Hudson's Bay and North West companies, which were united in 1821. Amable Grignon died at Grand Rapids, Wis., in 1845.—ED.

[16] For Duncan Graham see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 298, 467. Lake Rouge is the Red Lake of northern Minnesota, on which there had been a trading post since about 1796.—ED.

lawse has gone with luis Gravelle [to] bas de la prairie with my father,[17] and Mr. Jacob has engaged with the Northwest as a freeman and has gone to winter at the astiboine [Assiniboine]. We had great damage here this year in the river rouge from Grasshoppers that destroyed the Crops, that is the reason this is such a hard country, only there are always plenty of cattle.

I hope that I shall have the pleasure of seeing you this year if you have any desire to come you can secure passage with Mr. Augustin nolin.[18] I am sure that he would grant you that with pleasure. He will soon return from Sault St. mary My respects to your father and mother and Mr. John Law, and to Mr. L. Grignon and his daughters and to the doctor. My respects to Madame Lanchevin and to madamoiselle Marguerite Grignou.[19]

I have no other news of which to inform you & remain always hoping to see you as soon as possible. I am alweys your Intimate friend

WILLIAM DICKSON[20]

I hope if you do not come I shall have the pleasure of a letter from you by the bearer [remainder illegible.]

Mr. Jacque porlier fils Bay Verte by favor Mr Aug. nolin.

---

[17] For Louis Gravelle see *Id*, xix, p. 376, note 28. "Bas de la Prairie" was the French name for the lower fort on Saskatchewan River.—ED.

[18] Augustin Nolin was a voyageur, who traded in the Lake Superior country during the latter part of the 18th century. He had retired before the close of the War of 1812–15, and built for himself a home at Sault Ste. Marie. At the capture of Mackinac in 1812, he was of great assistance in restraining the Indians from massacre, and in 1815 warned the American officers at the Sault of an intended attack. About the time this letter was written, he sold his establishment at the Sault to G. O. Ermatinger, and removed to the Red River. There his descendants were important members of the community during the troubles of 1869–70.—ED.

[19] Marguerite Grignon was born March 23, 1789. She married Louis Corbeille, and died about 1823.—ED.

[20] For a sketch of William Dickson, see *Ibid*, p. 444, note 73.—ED.

1820: WINTERING ON THE WISCONSIN

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B22. Translated from the French.]

1st February, 1820.

Sir—I have ascertained that I can have no hope of doing anything here. Polythe has arrived from a drouine of 6 days on the Kekapou [Kickapoo] river. He has not done any trading altho the Savages had plenty of bear skins, my orders were for 2 bear skins [per plus] but they wished to give but one and a half.

I am not surprised that your men have not returned to l'etmanoir [Lemonweir River], and I was sure by the Savages' report that they had passed 3 days in a lodge eating a piece of dried meat that Amable bought for a pair of mitasses you will not lose all for Augustin has taken your revenge on his side.

If you need my men to send any where, write me for I do not know what to do. the price at the prairie is 5 deer skins [per plus] at present, the puants daily pass my house to go there. I do not send back your books yet. I have not looked them over. A horrible tooth ache on almost one whole side of my mouth has taken possession of me for 4 days and I have not known what to do with myself. The pain has now gone down between my Neck and chest so that I am ready to Believe your Rheumatism has come to make me a visit. If I can I shall return it to you quickly.

I am sending Polythe down, if you have any Commissions which you wish to charge him with, he will take them for you. My best Compliments to Mr. Laurence I am &c.

Jq. Porlier.

tockingo brought his peltry to me consisting of 77 rats, 3 Cats, 2 skunks, 1 otter, he says that you have let him have the powder and shot marked in his credit, and he has paid 20 rats on his blanket.

Mr. L. Grignon.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B23.]

Ouisconsing Feby 4th 1820

John Lawe Esq.

Dear Sir—Since I last had the pleasure of writing you, there has happened nothing new. The chase is pursued with less & less energy & I begin to be discouraged & low spirited. If the equipment I have bought of M^r^ Aug^n^ Grignon does not turn out better than this I shall be very unfortunate but I hope my success there will enable me to pay all my debts. M^r^ Louis Grignon still continues very unwell & as he cannot leave the house has consented to take charge of the provisions & my men for eight or ten days. I shall go to the portage and from there to Lac Du Beaf where I hope to send for my Carpot. Amable Grignon[21] is a fine young man & very capable with the indians. He has the experience apparently of an old trader. I have nothing more to say. I regret exceedingly the poor success of my equipment & if a miracle operates may still do something with respect your sincere friend

R Lawrence

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B21. Translated from the French.]

27 Feb. 1820

Sir & Friend—I have remained undecided for several days whether I should make the trip to the Prairie but seeing the pleasant weather come so fully, I have given it up and am preparing to depart as soon as possible. I do not doubt that the puants of the Upper River will be at the portage too soon for us, but what can I do, I await my men impatiently to learn the tidings. They have been gone on a trip to the letmanoir 15 days and I fear that something has happened them. I am about cut-

[21] Not Amable Grignon of Green Bay—who was at this time in the Hudson Bay region—but Amable, son of Perische Grignon of the Portage, who later made his home at Prairie du Chien, and was employed both as Winnebago interpreter and fur-trader.—Ed.

ting a doe skin of which I will send you your share when it is prepared. I work unceasingly to put my inventory into condition to present to you the balance of my fine returns.

I am not well these last few days, the bad meat aggravates my trouble I suppose, and grain is a poor nourishment for me. I do not willingly eat but one meal a day, so that the void in my stomach fills with wind, and causes me much inconvenience. All these troubles make me regret having left the Bay to come here and do nothing.

I send to Mr. Lawrence a dose of salts that he has asked for. I hope that it may serve him as well as if it had come from the best apothecary's shop. I beg you to accept my best compliments I am with Esteem Your Servant & Friend

Jq. Porlier.

Mr. L. Grignon.

Endorsed: Received by Beauchant 27 February 1820 Wisconsin L. Grignon.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B28. Translated from the French.]

Portage of the Wisconsin, 2 March 1820

Sir—I send you enclosed a Letter of Mr. Devotion regarding his Goods and at the Same Time acquaint you that I have a Letter here for Mr. [name crossed out.]

The 19th of last month there was killed by the Puants of the river La roche [Rock River] 2 Soldiers at a Half Mile from the Fort of the same River, no other news to speak of. The Traders below have done well. St. Jean has charge of two Barges. The Saques made a great Hunt, for me I have done nothing &c.

By a Letter from Mr. Crooks dated 19 February last Peltries have fallen, especially bearskins. I think Mr. Lawrence will leave here the day after tomorrow very discontented with his Bad Business. Awaiting the pleasure &c I am &c

L. Grignon

Mr. John Lawe La Bay

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B33. Translated from the French.]

WISCONSIN 24 March, 1820

DEAR SIR—This will be the last you will receive from me, before I shall have the pleasure of seeing you. Mr. Gunn leaves for the Portage & Mr. Lawrence for Prairie Duchien. I take my Passage with the Latter & I tell you that Business has not improved but in some ways is Worse than ever. The savages have made no Hunt since last January, the report of a Savage Coming from the Prairie caused great alarm among them and they have spent their Time arming themselves with bows and Arrows, all because of the folly of those of the river La roche. They much feared there would be a raid upon them. Consequently you may imagine they have not hunted.

Mr. Lawrence may perhaps ascend the Missipi as he has some business with Mr. Devotion. I beg you to oblige me by paying attention to my planting with the necessary Cautions and see that Lavigne[22] does his best. Tell him to plant four or six Wild Apple trees in the Garden. Show him how to do it, and also a Shoot of a Gooseberry bush that Mr. Langevin promised to Divide into several parts.

Nothing unusual. wishing you perfect health as well as your family Your servant & friend

L. GRIGNON

Mr. John Lawe

In addition I beg you to do me the favor of giving my Love to the Children and give to them & Catiche[23] the necessary recommendation to study hard. Paper and Time is lacking to write them.

---

[22] Jean Baptiste Lavigne, a retired fur-trader, who was at this time farmer for Louis Grignon.—ED.

[23] Catiche Cardin was an orphan relative of the Grignons, and was adopted and brought up with the family. About 1808 she became the wife of Louis Grignon, whom she survived. Her three children were Ursule, Elizabeth, and Pierre L. Grignon.—ED.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B34. Translated from the French.]

MONTAGNE QUE TROMPE A LEAU 3 April 1820

DEAR LAWE—I put off writing you from the Prairie for Certain reasons. I arrived the 25th and left the 28th of last month. You will be not a little surprised to know that the People from the River rouge had been there Several Days a Mr Ledlie & Mr. Dickson the former came to buy seeds and several other articles. Mr. Rolette secured from him at least five hundred Guineas for some 300 minots of Grain at $3.00 per minot. The Grasshoppers destroyed all their crops last summer even to the Potatoes.

Mr. Dickson comes to await Mr. Hackett who is Milore's [My Lord Selkirk's] Brother in law. He was to come by St. Louis. A New Governor came to the river rouge from England and Last autumn made Messrs Chat M^c^tavishe & Frobisher & J. Campbell Prisoners & eight of their men & Sent them to England with the exception of M^c^Tavishe who escaped—this affair happened at Lake Ouinipique.[24]

You will be not a little surprised to learn that the night I arrived at the prairie towards Eleven o'clock the House of Charles Lapointe[25] was blown up by Powder Mr. Rolette had

[24] The new governor was Capt. William Williams, who had been in the East India Company's service. He reached Red River early in May, 1819, and arranged to capture the North West Company's brigade as it came from the Athabasca. Providing an armed galley on Lake Winnipeg, he laid an ambush at the Grand Rapids, where the Saskatchewan River enters the lake. The following partners were captured: Angus Shaw [Chat], John G. McTavish, Benjamin Frobisher, John D. Campbell, and William McIntosh. They were carried prisoners to York Fort, on Hudson Bay, and Shaw and McTavish were sent to England. Campbell returned to Montreal; McIntosh escaped while still en route; and Frobisher, having escaped from York, perished of cold and hunger in the wilderness. The next year the companies united and the rivalry ended.—ED.

[25] Charles Lapointe was a son of one of the earliest Prairie du Chien settlers, and he himself was employed in the War of 1812–15. His mother was the sister of the Sioux chief for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xvii, p. 323, note 1.—ED.

his magazine in this same House kept by Mr. Moreaux who left just in Time and consequently was suspected of having set the fire himself and other more Dreadful Suspicions. the following day his canoe was found by Mr. Johnson at four miles distance from the mouth of the Wisconsin his chest afloat his supplies likewise and his fusil and powder horn and smoking bag tied to the chest he is believed to be slain or Drowned the Affair is Mysterious.

It is said that the Foll of the upper river have made a Great Beaver Hunt and in consequence Mr. Mayrand has had a big success all the Traders on the upper river have done well.

They tell me that fifty Soldiers of the river St. Pierre have died of Scurvy and if they had not had [word illegible] others would have met the Same fate

Every thing is Tranquil here, the world breathes Liberty. Law is enforced the Citizens Content & offices respected Mr Rolette has made $10,000.00 in money. Mr. Devotion has not yet returned from river St. Pierre they tell me that he goes down to St. Louis. Nothing more to mention to you. Mr. Lawrence has not secured anything on the Credits that he bought of Augustin. They passed the winter at the Prairie du Chien 2 have lost their wives. Share my letter with fanfant [Pierre Grignon] & my Compliments; and present my respects to Mamma, Mr Langevin &c. I am hastened by lack of Sleep & by the Cold, my love to your family. Oblige me by taking care of my House. I am awaiting the pleasure of seeing you dear Sir Your Servant & friend

L. Grignon

Mr. Lawrence charges me to give you his respects he does not write you because he is ill. I am obliged to look out for his men who take advantage of him. The son of Oskininy was killed at the Prairie by his two Brothers in law the Sons of La Galette when they were not at all Drunk.

Mr. John Lawe La Bay verte

N. B. Mr. Rolette did not wish to tell me that he sends to the Bay for his Blankets this is not certain but I think so

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B35. Translated from the French.]

MONTAGNE QUI TRAMP A LEAU 4 April 1820

DEAR SIR—In addition I have to inform you that to Add to our Misfortunes we passed through the fire Last night, the Tent of Mr. Lawrence Burned & some part of our Baggage & I had one hand & one Foot considerably injured we wait on Providence without shelter or Tent.

Mr. Lawrence has conformed to the Price Established here for Trading twenty rats or Otter or Bear Skin [to the plus] is the Ordinary one. We have opposite us 25 Sioux Lodges & not a Rat to Trade, judge if they are well cleaned out. Respectfully your sincere

L. GRIGNON

Mr. John Lawe, La Bay verte

1820: INFLUENCE IN CONGRESS

[MS. in Burton Library, Detroit. Pressmark: Vol. 117, p. 108.]

NEW YORK 7 April 1820

DEAR SIR—On opening the *envelope* of Mr [Robert] Stewarts letter of advice I was greatly disappointed in not having "a word" from you. I am very anxious to learn how things go on. I hope you obtained Mr. Pinkneys opinion & you are as good a judge what it ought to cost as any body can be. When armed with that, and Mr. Ogdens document, I wish much you would call on Mr. Calhoun, and give him an opportunity of reconsidering the attorney Generals decision. Should he persist in refusing to receive the orders of last Fall commanding the revocation of the licenses; it would be well to add a section to the Indian trade Bill embracing a recognition of the persons ejected, to the claims and immunities of Citizens. I think in this way we may succeed, but should we fail, you had better obtain Mr. Pinkneys opinion in regard to the writ of mandamus and I will get Mr. Ogden's on the same points the

moment his avocations at Court which is now in session, will afford him the necessary time. In the expence that may be incurred, please get an account of Mr. Pinkney, and you may draw on me here for the amount. But if in your opinion Mr. P. is too extravagant in his demands, I think the case so very clear that it will hardly be worth Sacrificing any considerable sum I however willingly leave the whole business to your management.

The vice President of United States has just arrived from Albany, and through him I expect letters to some members of your house who I trust will especially aid in defeating the outrageous license system about to be imposed on us. I hope to send them on by Sunday at farthest. Mr. Bostwick is mustering all the strength he can

Mr. A. D. Stewarts draft in your favor for $91.80 was paid two days *before* I received the letter of advice. I have seen the Washington City Gazette that was to have contained the reply to Mr. McKenneys report. I enquired at many places here, but as yet cannot find it. I am not sure yet but that *some* papers of *that* days impression came here: however I know my landlord got his Gazettes regularly both *before* and *since,* but missed that particular paper. I wish you would send *one* or *more* of that days paper say Wednesday 29th March, 1820

Gov. Cass has written me about Col. Chambers seizure of our Boats on the Mississippi in 1817, and is decidedly of opinion, we must get a verdict in our favor. Please suggest any thing you may think will aid our cause with Mr. Calhouns *new* licence system, and I will do all I can to meet your wishes

Some of our goods have arrived from England, and I shall commence purchasing here soon. I am in consequence very busy, and although I cannot write you as often as I wish I trust you will make me as frequent communications as your time and duties will allow May I beg you will hand the enclosed to Mr. Abbott, who now resides I am told at Mr. Stewart's Uncles With much esteem I am Dear Sir Yours truly

Rams. Crooks

Hon. William Woodbridge Washington

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 119.]

New York 14 April 1820

Dear Sir—Enclosed I send Mr. Abbott several letters to members of Congress, whose co-Operation will be valuable should the Indian Bill be roused from its present torpid state.

Mr. Boswick took steps some time ago to gain us friends among the New England delegation but I am unable to say what success he has had

I hope you have ere this Mr. Pinkneys opinion and in securing to the good people of Michigan what Mr Attorney General has tried to deprive them of; as well as in defeating this obnoxious new system of granting licences; I trust you will be crowned with complete success. On your good efforts in our case, I rely much. without them, I should have but little hope of obtaining what we ask, although it is so very reasonable. When you can spare time, I shall be very glad to hear from you meantime I am Dear Sir Yours truly

Rams Crooks

Honb. William Woodbridge Washington

1820: NEWS FROM PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 6B37.]

Prairie du Chien April 18t 1820

Dear Lawe—You will no doubt be surprised, at seeing me date from this place, I arrived here from Red River on the 10th of March, my object was to meet a Gentleman who was to have come out from England, to have wintered at the City of Washington & to find him here or a[t] St Louis.

A passport for me, from the President of the United States was to have been forwarded to this place by the 1st of February and to be left with Mr. Rolette but on m[y] arrival here, I found neither letter nor Pass which [has] determined me to wait Ar-

rivals from below, as I did [not] much like going to St Louis in the present Crisis

I have received from M^r. Grignon all the News from La Baye, I am sorry to learn that you are still in some degree persecuted, but you must bear all with patience untill you get the title to your land confirmd. Then you can judge best whether you will Remain, or Remove to some other Quarter. The locusts have eat up all the Crops at Red River for these two years past, else every thing would have been in a quite flourishing condition. There are Three Boats gone from this with wheat &c. Providence has been bountiful in sending immense droves of Buffaloe and the Settlement has more than One years provision in meat in advance. It is hoped that the locusts will not return as they did not deposit their Eggs last Season. I left my family all well, and they desire their Kind Remembrances to you and yours. I think that M^r. Louis Grignon and you ought to proceed to York [Toronto] to locate your lands and get in presents what the British Government have granted. I will write to Sir Peregrine Maitland a letter of Introduction for you both. I think it will be for your mutual advantage, and those concern'd. I am living here an idle life in daily expectation of word from below, when I shall lose no time in getting off. The political horizon seems to me [to] be clouded & if I judge right, indicates the prelude to a storm, but where the thunder will fall, we cannot say until we feel or hear of its effect.

The Puants, have Killed a Sergeant & Private of the Garrisons at Rock River, near the Fort. They deserve to be punished in a summary manner.

Duncan Graham winters at Lake du Traverse with Renville[26]

[26] Lake du Traverse is in Traverse County, Minn., the head of Red River. Joseph Renville (Rainville) was a protegé of Dickson, who had early recognized the unusual ability of this half-breed Sioux. He was born near St. Paul about 1779, being sent for education to Montreal. When but eighteen years of age, Renville wintered on the upper Mississippi with Jacques Porlier, and thereafter became one of the best-known traders of that region. In 1805–06 he served as interpreter for Pike, who highly commended him. In the War of

—I am afraid Duncan will not make well out, he was never intended for a Trader. I have not determined what I shall do this Season, I have written the Governor of Hudson Bay on a subject of much importance & I wait his Answer to decide, Write me about what you seriously intend, from Mackinas and I shall lose not a moment, in telling you how to proceed. I am afraid that your Establishment at Green Bay will not enable you to provide for your family in the way you would wish.

Tell me without reserve and rest assured that I shall give you the most sincere advice and best assistance in my power.

The Indian Trade in this Country is not in my opinion worth following, it is like walking in the Mud untill you get soussed over head & Ears.

I shall write you before I leave this. my respects to Colonel Boyer & to Docto[r] M[c]Mahon. My best wishes to yourself & family, & believe me with sincere friendship yours truly

R. Dickson

John Lawe Esq. Green Bay

1812–15, he joined Dickson in urging the Sioux to war and was commissioned a lieutenant in the British Indian department. At the close of the war Renville became a Hudson Bay trader on the Red and upper St. Peter's rivers. After the union of the two companies (1821), Renville organized an American fur-trade enterprise known as the Columbia Fur Company, whose headquarters were on Lake Traverse. For five years this concern operated in opposition to the American Fur Company, which finally (1827) bought it out. Renville then retired to Lac-qui-parle in Minnesota, where he carried on a purely local trading business. In 1834 Protestant missionaries came to Minnesota, and Renville, becoming a convert to their doctrines, aided in translating the Bible and other literature into the Dakota tongue. His home was open to all Christian missionaries, and his youngest son was ordained a minister. Renville lived in the patriarchial manner, maintaining a large establishment, keeping a bodyguard of Indians, and dispensing hospitality to all. His death in 1846 was a severe blow to both the Indians and the whites, of the mixture of whose races he was a notable example.—Ed.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office, Letters Received, 1831; no. 1.]

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN 19th. April 1820

SIR—Mr. Greno [Grignon] returning to Green Bay gives me an opportunity of informing you, last evening an Express arrived here from Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, bringing information that on 29th. of last month, the Winebagoes of Rock River killd and scalped two Soldiers within Sight of that Fort previous to that act they showed a hostile disposition toward the Americans there, by killing the Cattle and hogs and as a further proof of thier viloney, they have dureing the winter opend at least one hundred Cashes of Corn and 65 belonging to the Sacs and Foxes—thereby destroyed near One Thousand bushels Corn—such conduct has roused the indignation of the Sacks and Foxes so much, as to make them voluntier their services to join us in a war against the Aggressors if required.

It is much to be regreated we cannot have a law to prevent spirit[uou]s liquors being given or sold to Indians. At this place dureing the winter it has been most shamefully practised —and is believed by every Gentleman here, that Mr. J. H. Lockwood and Mr. J. Rolette are the principal venders in that article, or that the Indians have got more Whiskey at their Stores than at any other in this place—Mr. Lockwood is said to be one of the firm of the American Fur Compy.

As a public officer, I give it as my opinion, men who will violate the Laws so willfully ought [not] to be permitted to have any dealings with Indians or even [to be] admitted in the Indian Country.

In the absence of Mr. N. Boilvin, for the last several months, I have acted as Indian Agent, and feel it my duty to give you this information I am Sir very Respectfully your Hbl Servant

JNO. W. JOHNSON
acting protem Indian Agent

His Excellency Governor Cass Detroit

[MS. in Burton Library, Detroit. Pressmark: Vol. 259, p. 104.]

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN May 14th 1820

DEAR SIR—Three Indians of the Winnabago tribe have murdered two of Maj Marstons[27] men at Ft Armstrong in open day light & at no great distance from the Ft. The Maj has been kept in a state of alarm by these rascals for some time past, but he rather believed they were more hostile to his Cattle & swine than to himself or his men, nor is it yet ascertained whether these murders were perpetrated by the advice of the nation or were caused only by the wicked dispositions of the individuals who committed them. Col Leavenworth[28] however will probably soon learn the truth of this as he is now at Rock Island with a reinforcement from this & the Post at St. Peters[29] & intends if the murderers are not surrendered to him to make war upon the nation. If he should be obliged to do this it will be impossible to tell the result as it [is] believed this nation can muster at least 800 worriers & they are less civilized & more cruel than any other Indians in this section of the country & brave even [to] presumption. I however do not believe they

[27] Maj. Morrill Marston was born in New Hampshire in 1785. In 1805 he removed to Massachusetts as a merchant, and on the outbreak of the War of 1812–15 was commissioned a first-lieutenant, being promoted to a captaincy the next year, and brevetted major for gallantry at Fort Erie (1814). At the close of the war he was transferred to the 5th infantry, being stationed at Prairie du Chien and Forts Armstrong and Edwards. He was discharged from the army in 1824, and died near Fort Edwards seven years later.—ED.

[28] Henry Leavenworth was born at New Haven, Conn., 1783. He studied law and entered the army in 1812 as captain of the 25th infantry. In 1818 he became lieutenant-colonel, seven years later a colonel, and in 1824 was brevetted brigadier-general. He served on the frontier for many years, building Fort Snelling on the Mississippi. Later, Fort Leavenworth was named for him. His Missouri expedition of 1825 was famous. His death occurred in 1834 at Cross Timbers, Indian Ty.—ED.

[29] This was the post afterwards known as Fort Snelling, begun in 1819 when Colonel Leavenworth and troops went up by keel-boats to establish a fort. The first winter was spent in log-huts, as temporary barracks. The cornerstone of the fort was laid in 1820.—ED.

OLD FUR-TRADE HOUSE OF AMERICAN FUR COMPANY, MACKINAC

Now transformed into a hotel. The oldest part of the building is the left-hand wing. From photograph taken about 1910

WHAT REMAINS OF OLD FORT SNELLING

will dare to engage us in a war with them & therefore the murderers will be given up & with their deaths the affair for the present at least be ended. It certainly is to be wished that it may terminate in this way as in the event of a war the Indians can do the whites a very considerable injury & without a doubt will destroy many lives.

I have a favour to ask of you & that is that you will call on Mr. Woodbridge & ask him if in a letter he may have recd. from Mr J. Rolette asking his advice as to what can be done with certain gentlemen of this place who reported him to the Govr. any thing is s[d] disrespectful of these persons & if there is to assure him he ought to pay [no] more attention to it as they are all Respectable & were [actuated] only by the most honorable motives in doing as they did. As to their having committed themselves I am yet Lawyer enough to know they have not. The particulars of the case are these. We have recd. considerable trouble this season from drunken indians. This Rolette & an other Trader here are believed to be the principal venders of liquor to them, but as they do it in so secret a manner as to screen themselves from a conviction of a violation of the Laws we determined to report them to the govr. & let him dispose of them as he might think proper.

Capt Larned[30] arrived here a few days Since from St. Peters, yet under arrest. He expects to remain here until he is ordered to duty or some other place for trial. The Col. has offered to release him from arrest on his acknowledgeing that he the Col. had a right to impose the order which he refused to obey & on this act, was arrested; but the Capt will not do this & therefore will probably be tried. He is in good health & his spirits as buoyant as usual.

As for my own dear self I am not yet permanently settled though I am now in daily expectation of learning what my

[30] Capt. Benjamin F. Larned of Massachusetts entered the army in 1812 as ensign, and was honored for gallant conduct at Fort Erie. In 1815 he was assigned as paymaster to the 5th infantry, and rose to the rank of paymaster-general, dying in 1862.—Ed.

fate is to be. Unless some cursed ill luck of which I believe I have already had my share, deprives me of it I shall soon receive the appointment [of] Factor. If I do not I shall be obliged to descend the Mississippi, to wh[ich] place & in what to engage the Lord only knows.

I have every [day] expected a letter from you but as yet have been disappointed. I am in hopes however the first arrival will bring me one in which will be narrated every thing of an interesting nature that has occurred since I left Detroit. Make my respects to Charles & his Lady, your wife & family & others which take any interest in being remembered by Your Sev[t]

F. Barnard

Col John Hunt[31] *Esq. Attorney at Law Detroit Michigan Territory*

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 6B55.]

Prairie du Chien May 15th 1820

Dear Sir—I left the Red River, in the beginning of February, & arrived at this place on the 10th of March. I had received letters, from the Earl of Selkirk to come here, at that time, when I would find a passport from the President of the United States to go to St. Louis, where I would meet one of Lord Selkirk's Friends, who was to accompany me to the Red River, but in this I have been disappointed from what cause I am as yet ignorant. The passport you did me the honor to give me at Mackinac last Summer has been respectfully attended to, by all the United States Military and civil Officers—and I trust that my conduct will never reproach you for your Urbanity & politeness to a Stranger. I intend to return back to the Colony by the route of the S[t] Peters, and I have obtaind Colonel Lev-

[31] Nothing further is known of the writer of this letter. John Hunt was an honest and able Massachusetts lawyer who emigrated to Detroit about 1818 and attained prominence, being in 1823 elected to the supreme court of the territory. He died of insanity in 1827.—Ed.

enworths permission for that purpose. That Gentleman left this about Eight Days ago for Rock River in Order to punish the Winebagoes for the Murder of a Sergeant & a private Soldier at Fort Armstrong under the Command of Major Marston of the 5th. Regt. I trust that they may be able to punish the Villains as they deserve but I do not think the Colonel has sufficient force to understand active measures in the field, Should the Chiefs not be inclined, to deliver up the Murderers. The Nations of Indians seem well disposed towards your Country although I believe that the Spaniards have been tampering with them. Will you be pleased to present my Respects to Colonel Lawrence & inform him I shall have the honor of addressing him on the Arrival of Mr. Boilvin from St. Louis. I have sent by Mr. Robinson, a Bow, and Quiver of Arrows for my Friend Joshua [Boyd], which I beg that he will accept. I shall always be interested in him, and I am sure with due cultivation of the talents he possesses that he will attain celebrity in any line that you may place him. Accept of my sincere wishes for your health & that of your Family I have the honor to be with Sentiments of high Respect and Esteem Dear Sir Your most faithfull and obedient humble Servant

R. Dickson

Colonel Boyd

1820: CITIZENSHIP SECURED

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B56.]

Mackinac May 20th 1820

Dear Sir—Your favor of 4th instant is now before me and according to your Request, I ship you 50lbs shingling Nails; of which Bill Lading is enclosed

In regard to naturalization, I have only to state, that the difficulties which lately occured on that head, were owing to an opinion given by the Attorney General of the United States; by which it appears that no Man can be considered a Citizen, until he obtain a certificate of the Same, from a Court, according

to the prescribed course pointed out by the acts of Congress, on that Subject. The formality of the Oath which must be taken, cannot in my opinion be made an objection to, by any person, however scruplous in regard to matters of conscience; for its spirit is simply, that whilst a person continues a Citizen, he abjures all allegiance to every other Potentate & country; and will obey & support the Laws of the U. States:—Any man who cannot without repugnance take such an oath, ought not, I think, either to have, or claim the rights of a Citizen. It is for you Sir to decide, as I cannot of course presume to direct your sense of propriety in such a case. You cannot be at a loss as to the necessary testimony relative to length of residence &c: as I explained that fully in my letter of 30th Ultimo to the Messrs. Grignon.

All the news I have from the Atlantic, is, that Mr. Crooks (with the Goods) will be here by 20th June, in the Steamboat. By the latest accounts from Europe, the Fur Market was very dull owing to the universal distress for money. I am in much haste Dear Sir Your Mo. obt. Servt.

Robert Stuart

P. S. Have the Goodness to inform Messrs. Grignon of the contents of this letter: it was my intention to have written them, but the vessel is just going off

R. S.

Jacques Porlier Esqr. Green Bay per favor Capt. Blake

1820: TRANSPORTATION OF FURS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C66.]

Green Bay 8th June 1820

Dear Sir—I send off this Morning a letter for Mr. Belcher which will be handed you by Mr. Moore[32] to deliver him at the

[32] William Belcher wintered in Wisconsin in 1820–21. Later, he was employed as storekeeper by the sutlers at Fort Gratiot and Chicago, removing to Fort Winnebago in the autumn of 1830.

Prairie. you will be very particular in receiving the payment from Mr Belcher for the Amount of Mr Devotions Account which I have sent him according to his wish by his Letter I received by Mr Moore. the Account amounts to $914.00 in case you are paid in Bank Notes you will try and get Mr. Lockwood & Mr Moore to examine the payment if they could oblige me so much to assist you, as you know there is but very few Bank Notes that passes here at present, the Missouri Bank Notes is good at the Prarie, but they will not pass here, if in case the two above Gentlemen is too busy at that moment & say they cannot Attend, you will then ask Mr Bouthillier & Mr Brisbois[33] to oblige me so much if they will give themselves the trouble to assist you. if you are paid in Bank Bills you must have the number, Signature, & the Name of each Bank wrote down. I have been particular in my Letters to Mr Belcher if he should make the payment in Bank Notes you will get a Receipt made out according to the kind of payment you receive, so you can come back on him in case there was bad money, the Gentlemen I have already Mentioned will assist you to that purpose, if you do get back Freight, enough to have full Loads you will not fail in getting your Boats as heavy Laden as those that has come here this year as the Expense is great on the two Boats as your Men is better fed then common as all the Boats that come from the Mississippi this year is fed on Corn & Grease be very carefull of your provisions, leave some at the Portage for when you return. If you get freight back you will pay attention in geting a number of Bear skins for Covering the Packs

---

Hazen Mooers was an American from either New York or Massachusetts, who having been deputy collector of customs on the Canadian frontier, entered the fur-trade by way of Montreal, first coming out in 1818. In 1823 he was at the American Fur Company post on Big Stone Lake, with William Dickson. In 1826 he brought out 126 packs, valued at $12,000. He married a Sioux woman, named Grey Cloud, and sometime after 1833 removed still farther west, having a post on the Cheyenne. He died among the Sioux about 1858, aged seventy years.—Ed.

[33] For these early residents of Prairie du Chien see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, pp. 463, 495, notes 85 and 29 respectively.—Ed.

from the persons that gives the Freight so that you can be sure of bringing your Load back in good order. you will ask the same for Freight, they give others for each Pack this year. contract no Accounts, by any Means at the Prarie. Le Blan[34] has a Note of hand of Roys that I gave him for advances I made him amounting to $13.27 and a small account besides of Ninety Six Cents more makes in all 14.23 which he sais he will pay on Arriving at the Prarie if he should not pay it you will tell Le Blain to have it put in the hands of a Justice of the peace to recover immediately in haste I remain Yours

JOHN LAWE

N. B. I Inclose the few orders drawn by Mr. Devotion on me you will deliver them up in setling accounts or to Mr. Belcher. J. L.

To Mr Tenislaus Chaput En Route

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C69.]

GREEN BAY 17th June 1820

John W. Mason Esquire

DEAR SIR—Inclosed you have Bill Lading of Twenty Seven Packs of Peltrys which I forward to your address marked Co. L you will please to Account to Captn Wright for the Freight as per agreement, your favor of the 6th June came to hand yesterday with some my Letters to my Address which I am obligated to you for & the forwarding of them. no news worth your Attention from this Quarter everything is dull here plenty of Cash for the sutler only in this Place Mr. Louis Grignon will be leaving this in a few days for Mackinac & then we will

---

[34] Le Blan [Blanc] was the usual nickname for Louis Carbonneau *dit* Provençal, who for many years had lived at Traverse des Sioux, in the Minnesota Valley. See record of his children's baptism in *Id*, xix, pp. 134, 135. It is said that Provençal refused to take up arms against the Americans in 1812. He was one of the best-known of the early traders of Minnesota, hospitable and kind, but choleric in temper. He died at Mendota in 1850.—ED.

let you know what will be done with the Peltries you see the famous returns we have made. oh! what a shame it is for us to Carry on Indian Trade as we do under so many disadvantages & what a heavy loss we meet with again this Year much more then last and what is to be done I do not know I have nothing more to state to you of any consequence from here but I will write you more fully by the next opportunity as I am in haste at present I thank you for all the news & I hope you will continue writing me & be particular writing me all the News best respect to you Yrs.

J[OHN] L[AWE]

Endorsed: Copy of a letter to Jno. W. Mason dated Green Bay 17th June 1820

1820: FACTORY AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, 1818–20, p. 686.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE June 10th. 1820

J. W. Johnson Esq P. du. Chien

SIR—Yours of the 22d. Ulto. accompanied by your quarterly accounts, has this moment arrived. I am gratified that notwithstanding the very shamefull practices of private traders in violating the laws of the Country, and prostrating the only moral bulwark which nature has opposed to savage violence, that you are making something. The season of triumph I hope is approaching its close. I shall not fail to report upon the cases you identify.

T. L. McK[ENNEY].

1820: TRADE AT MILWAUKEE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 6B82.]

MACKINAC July 1st 1820

DEAR SIR—I have had some conversation with M^r. Dousman respecting Jean Vieaux,[35] & I think you ought by all means to secure him. This you can probably do by stating to him, that you would let him have the goods at the Bay, at Mackinac prices, & 5 p^r. c^t. for freight. That he should arrange respecting prices with our people at Milliwakie, that consequently he would virtually have no opposition, and that you would secure him Mackinac prices for his Furs next spring &c: &c:

Should you not be able to come down in one of these vessels, you must certainly be ready for the next. Endeavor to get Farnsworth,[36] Inventory &c: but if he refuse this tell him to bring it down, that we can settle the accounts on the principles directed by the Company. I am D^r. Sir Yours

ROBERT STUART
Ag^t. Am: Fur C^o

Have you got Hunt's money, if not do so

John Lawe Esqr. Green Bay

[35] Usually known as Jacques Vieau; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 218–225; xv, pp. 458–469.—ED.

[36] William Farnsworth was of American birth, but entered the fur-trade from Montreal, coming out in 1818 as clerk in the district of Fond du Lac of Lake Superior. Of a bold, impetuous disposition, he could not brook the restraints to which he was subjected, hence was dismissed from the service of the American Fur Company, and coming to Green Bay set up as an independent trader on the Menominee River. There in 1822, or 1823, he married Marinette Chevalier, half-breed, formerly wife of John B. Jacobs. She was a clever trader and popular with the Indians, and Farnsworth maintained his opposition establishment with considerable success on the site of the present city of Marinette. In 1831–32, while in partnership with Charles R. Brush of Detroit, he built the first saw-mill on the Menominee, and in 1835 established one at Sheboygan, whither he finally removed, and passed the remainder of his life. Farnsworth was drowned in the "Lady Elgin" steamship disaster in 1860. For an appreciation of his character and services to pioneer history, see sketch by Morgan L. Martin in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ix, pp. 397–400.—ED.

1820: NATURALIZATION PAPERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 61B7.]

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN
County Court of Michilimackinac } ss.[37]

Be it remembered That Charles Grignon of the county of Brown in the Michigan Territory aforesaid, [appeared in the County Court] held at the Borough of Michilimackinac on the twentieth day of July in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred & twenty. The said Court being a Court of Record, having common law jurisdiction, and a clerk & Seal and the said Charles Grignon having proved to the Satisfaction of the Said Court that he was residing within the limits & under the jurisdiction of the United States between the Eighteenth day of June, one thousand Seven hundred & ninety eight and the fourteenth day of April One thousand eight hundred & two, & that he has since continued to reside within the same, & that he the Said Charles Grignon has resided within the United States to wit: At Green Bay & South Lake Superior five years at least immediately preceding this time, & one year at least immediately preceding this time within the Territory of Michigan & that during that time, he the said Charles Grignon has behaved as a man of good moral character attached to the principle of the Constitution of the United States & well disposed to the good order & happiness of the same, & having in the said Court taken the oath prescribed by law to Support the Constitution of the United States & having also in open Court absolutely and entirely renounced & abjured all allegiance & fidelity to every foreign prince, Potentate, State, or Sovereignty, whatever particularly to the King of the United Kingdoms of Great Britain & Ireland of whom he was a Subject. The said Charles

[37] The following MS. is presented as a typical document, one of many among the Society's Wisconsin MSS., naturalizing John H. Davis, Joseph Laperche, William Morrison, Eustache Roussain, Simon Charette, Joseph Duchêne Sr., Leon L. St. Germain, Louis Bibeau, Jean Baptiste Mayrand, Augustin Grignon, William A. Aitkin, Jeremie Clairmont, Stanislaus Chappu—all Indian traders.—ED.

Grignon was thereupon pursuant to the laws of the United States in such case made & provided for by an Act in addition to An Act entitled "An Act to establish an uniform rule of naturalization, & to repeal the Act heretofore passed on that Subject" the fourth day of March in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred & four admitted by the said Court to be, and he is accordingly to be Considered a citizen of the United States.

Given under the Seal of the said Court this twentieth day of July in the year of the Lord, one thousand eight hundred & twenty.

JOSIAH WILLARD
[Seal] *Clerk C. C. M. Protem*

[Source, same as preceding document, but 65B111.]

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN
County Court of Michilimackinac } ss.

Simon Charette being duly sworn deposeth & saith that he is well acquainted with Charles Grignon of the County of Brown in the Michigan Territory Indian Trader & that he the said Charles Grignon was residing within the limits & under the jurisdiction of the United States between the 18th day of June 1798 and the 14th day of April 1802 and that he has since Continued to reside within the same. Simon Charette of Michilimackinac Indian Trader & Eustache Roussain[38] of Michilimackinac also Indian Trader Citizens of the United States being also duly sworn deposeth & saith that they are well ac-

[38] For the first of these traders see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 170, note 33. Eustache Roussain was a North West Company clerk who was at Fond du Lac, Superior, 1799–1804; in the last-named year he went to Athabasca. In 1818 he was employed by the American Fur Company as interpreter at Fond du Lac, and in 1821 in the Folle Avoine district of northwest Wisconsin. He probably went to British Columbia, where in 1831 a trader named Roussain had charge of a Hudson Bay post.—ED.

quainted with Charles Grignon & that he has resided within the United States to wit at Green Bay & South Lake Superior five years at least immediately preceding this time & one year at least immediately preceding this time, has resided within the Territory of Michigan & that during that time he the said Charles Grignon has behaved as a man of good moral Character attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States & well disposed to the good Order & happiness of the same. Sworn in Open Court

JOSIAH WILLARD,
Clerk, C. C. C. M. Protem

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN
County Court of Michilimackinac } ss.

I Charles Grignon of the County of Brown in the Michigan Territory Indian Trader, do solemnly Swear & declare, that I will support the Constitution of the United States, & that I do absolutely & entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance & fidelity to every foreign Prince, Potentate, State, or Sovereignty whatever, particularly to the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland of whom I was a Subject. Sworn in Open Court

C. GRIGNON
JOSIAH WILLARD
[Seal] *Clerk C. C. C. M Protem*

1820: FOREIGNERS STILL TRADING

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, p. 15.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE July 29th. 1820.

To the Honble. Secty. War.

SIR—I have the honor to enclose herewith an acct received from the U. S. Factor at P. Du Chien, against the U. S. agent at that Village, for customary disbursements made to Indians during the absence of the Agent from his charge.

The reason why Govr. Clarke[39] did not recognize the acct. is assigned on the back of it. * * *

In company with this I have the honor to send you for your information certain papers just recd. from P. Du Chien, relating to British agencies, and their consequencies. This is nothing new, I am aware, but I cannot withold from you the information, as it may serve to place the subject more fully before the Executive. It will be seen that the Englishman Rolette, the great Indian plague, of whose doings we have so often heard, at the Ouisconsin, on the Lakes, and at Prarie due Chien, is still coursing it over the Indian Country regardless of your orders issued under the decision of the Attorney General of the United States. I believe it may now be taken for granted that such persons are not to be contrould, except by some suitable and summary process that shall take from them *and their employers,* their assumed right thus to annoy the Indians, and trample on the authority of the United States.

Paper marked A, is the acct refered to. Paper marked B. is the oath of Elijah Warner. That marked C, is the certificate of sundry respectable persons residing at Prairie du Chien, and paper marked D. is a letter from Mr. John Johnson the U S Factor complaining on acct. of the abuses set forth in the previous papers: and asking if there is no remedy etc. etc. I have the honor to be etc.

T. L. McK[ENNEY]
S. I. T.

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 22.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE August 4th. 1820

John W. Johnson Esq. Prairie du Chien

SIR—The account against the agency amounting to $215.49 is allowed by the War Dept. and forms a credit to the

---

[39] William Clark, governor and Indian agent for Missouri Territory, at St. Louis.—ED.

factory at P. du Chien on the Books of this office for that amount.

I am instructed by the Secy. of War to inform you that the offices of Factor and sub-agent are deemed incompatible; and that you cannot be continued in the latter whilst you exercise the duties of the former. The Secretary adds "you do not seem to have been recognized by the War Dept. as Sub-agent for a considerable time." The letters you wrote me and the certificates which accompanied them are before the executive.

Nothing however can be done without the interference of Congress in placing our licence system under other regulations. I am glad you sent me the information you did; and wish to receive as much as you can collect. It shall not be lost.

T. L. McK[ENNEY]

1820: FACTORY PRICES

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 37.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE GEO TOWN

August 26th. 1820

John W. Johnson U. S. Factor P. du Chien

SIR—On examining your Invoice of furs Peltries etc. received to day it is found that the prices you have allowed for some of the Articles particularly Deerskins and Bearskins are so high that a considerable loss will be sustained on them. The superintendent has directed me to apprise you of this and to say to you that prices in future must be reduced in some shape or other, he leaves it to your discretion to do it in the manner that will be least offensive to the Indians. For your government I enclose you prices current in New York the greatest market for such articles in the U. S. Respectfully etc.

J. W. B[RONAUGH]
for the Supr. In. Tr.

1820: LIQUOR IN INDIAN COUNTRY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1D100.]

Chicago Aug. 30. 1820

Dear Sir—Circumstances have induced me to travel by land to Detroit. I trust you have been able to effect the cession of the plaister islands. If so, it will not have been necessary to call the L'arbre croche Indians to Michillimackinac, agreeably to the wish, which I suggested to you from Green Bay. But if any circumstances have occurred to prevent you from attaining the object, be pleased to request the old Wing with a few of the principal men to visit me at Detroit, as early this fall as possible. you may assure the Wing, and those, who may accompany him, that I will make them some handsome presents at Detroit. I will thank you to furnish them with provisions.

You will please to furnish the Gentlemen of the expidition with such provisions as they may require for themselves or crews I am Dear Sir with much esteem yr. obt. Servt

Lew Cass

George Boyd Esq.

P. S. It has been stated to me here, that every trader entering the Indian Country this year is taking with him considerable quantities of whiskey, and that the practice is increasing. This is a Subject, which will require your particular attention.

Mr Crafts of this place[40] states to me, that Mr Michael Dousman informed him he intended to push whiskey into the Indian Country with all his traders, and particularly at Milwalkee. If Mr Dousman acts upon or even avows this principle,

---

[40] John Crafts was sent to Chicago in 1816 to begin the fur-trade for the Detroit house of Conant & Mack. He established himself at the Chicago-Desplaines portage, at the place known as "Hardscrabble," where Lee was murdered by Indians in 1812. Crafts did a flourishing business until 1819, when the American Fur Company sent an employee to oppose him. In 1821 he yielded and entered their service, removing to the mouth of Chicago River, where he died of fever in the latter part of 1825.—Ed.

it will be necessary although disagreeable to revoke any licence granted to him. L. C.

George Boyd Esq. Indian Agent Michillimackinac

1820: TRADERS' SUBTERFUGES

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C73.]

Michilimackinac 21st Septr. 1820.

My dear Uncle—I received your Letters of the 8th May at Green Bay July last and your Letter of the 1st August came to hand while I was at Drummonds Island the 13th Inst I am very happy to hear that you have closed your Business at the Lake of 2 Mountains as I allways thought it was a hazardous undertaking of your being so close to Montreal that there was plenty of persons before now would have enterd into that business if it had been advantageous. I am happy to hear that you have got a good place at the Cedars And all I wish is that I had the Means to assist the Support of you & my aunt, but alas I see no Opening for that here at present. I am as much persecuted as ever by the Am[eri]cans We have not got the titles of our Land yet and do not know when we will get them there is a Man gone on this Year of the name of Col. Lee as far as the Prarie du Chien and then on his return back he will make a stay at Green Bay to look in these titles that is good[42] I do

---

Note by Boyd: Mr. D has abandoned the trade at Milwalkee from the circumstance alone of the selling begun by the outfits of Mr. Kinsey of Chicago,[41] when his own outfits were debarred the use of liquor, from his wish to conform to the laws of the country.

[41] For this trader see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 379, note 30.—Ed.

[42] Col. Isaac Lee came to Michigan Territory before the War of 1812–15, being in 1811 justice of the peace for the district of Erie. During the war he was captain of a company of dragoons, and at one time commandant at the River Raisin. After the war he was appointed justice of the peace and registrar, and in 1818 chief justice of Monroe County. In 1820 he was appointed commissioner under an act of May 11 of that year, to settle the land claims of the old-time inhabitants in the Green Bay and Prairie du Chien districts. He

not know how far back that they will stand good but I am afraid that they will try and take every advantage that they possibly can, every obstacle is thrown in our way as usual I do not know what to do I can not remain in the Country this way I must either withdraw immediately or become an American Citizen there is no doing anything otherwise in this part of the Country and if I do withdraw I do not know where I could do anything to better myself I have fretted more than you can Imagine all winter & more so this Summer more for you & M^rs^ Franks Account the [than] my own. as you will see by the Inclosed Draft for £120 is all I could Send it is too long to enter & give you the particular details of this Summer. I can give you a little Sketch the few Peltries we made has come but grip or grab & I send myn & L. Grignon together to Mr Stones House last Fall as Mr. L. Grignon was going to leave the Bay to go out & winter as he had got a Licence & F. Roy then come a counter order from the Secretary of War to revoke all the Licence & not give any Licence to persons that was B[ritish] Subjects till they became Cizitens [Citizens] before a Court so that the Expence on the Boat &c was made & we was obliged to Stop then I got a pass from Col. Boye [Bowyer] for to let Louis go to the Prarie de Chien & after he was gone I got an American to go after him R. Lawrence & get a licence of C[olonel] B. as if he bought the Goods of L[ouis] Gr[ignon] thereof & I gave him so much profit before he started in the Fall & he was to give me up all the returns & I became his Security what does he do when he comes back in the Spring of the year he would not give the few returns that was made till I became responsible for such a certain Sum of Money to the amt. of 700 Dollars so I was obliged to pay that & the loss beside on the Equip^m^, was great as they could not

---

arrived in the former place Aug. 24, but finding the principal people absent, he went on to Prairie du Chien, returning Nov. 16 to Green Bay, where he remained until spring. His report on these claims is to be found in *Amer. St. Papers, Public Lands*, iv, pp. 867–878. Lee died June 9, 1824.—Ed.

winter no other place in the lower Ouisconsin & the Indians could not make any hunt and employed another Am[erican] for a month Gun [Gunn] & paid him 400 dollars beside the loss he made on the Eq. so on these two Eq^{mts} a loss of 2000 Dollars Dead loss besides the loss elsewhere the amount of what we owed here to Berthelote L. G. & me was £200

Endorsed: Copy of Letter from John Lawe to Jacob Franks 21st Sept 1820.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 7B52.]

DETROIT Oct 24. 1820

DEAR SIR—On my arrival at this place I called on Gov. Cass and mentioned to him your disappointment at not being able to become a citizen. he replied that he considered all the inhabitants of Green Bay citizens to all intents and purposes, and consequently had a right to licences to go in the indian country. The Attorney Gen^{l} at Washington is of a different opinion and consequently will not recognize the inhabitants as citizens untill they have taken the oath of allegiance. This you will be able to do on the second Monday of July next, which is the time appointed by law for the session of the Court of your County. I hope M^{r}. Porlier will consent to act as Judge you will then have authority and law in your own hands and not be subject to the caprice of the Agents of Government. Respectfully Your friend & Servant

W. S. COMSTOCK[43]

To John Law Esq.

---

[43] Dr. William Samuel Comstock was born in Rhode Island in 1794. The following year, his father died while in the West exploring for lands. The son was educated as a physician, joined the army as a surgeon's mate, and came to Green Bay with the 3d infantry. He died unmarried in 1825.—ED.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 7B57.]

Ft Howard 28th October 1820

Sir—I have been informed since I gave Larose[44] a permit to trade with the Indians, that he has forfeited his allegiance to the united States by removeing to red river in the Brittish dominions and residing there one year. I therefore shall be under the necessity of Revoking Larouse Permit unless otherwise made appear. altho willing at all times to render you every Service consistent with my duty as an officer as well as a duty to my Govern[t] I am induced from that consideration alone. it will leave room for the American traders to grumble and no doubt Complaints will be made to a higher authority than I possess by them. in haste I am Sir Respectfully your ob[t] Servant

J. T. Chunn
Major Commg[45]

Addressed: Jno Law Esquire Present. pr. Lt Hopkins

1820: FACTORY SALES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, Index page A. Printed advertisement of public auction of furs.]

FURS AND PELTRIES.

Will be sold, at public auction, on Monday the 13th of December next, at 11 o'clock, a. m. at the ware houses of the Superintendent of Indian Trade, in Georgetown, the following

---

[44] Probably Alexis La Rose, whose brother Ignace (Æneas) was interpreter and lieutenant under Dickson in 1812–15, and who was drowned in the latter year. Little is known of Alexis, save his employment as a fur-trade engagé.—Ed.

[45] The military record of John T. Chunn is: enlisted from Ohio as captain in the 19th infantry, April 14, 1812; brevetted major, Aug. 15, 1814, for distinguished services at Fort Erie; transferred the next year to the 3d infantry; honorably discharged, June 1, 1821.—Ed.

parcels of Furs and Peltries; the former received, principally, from the United States' factories at Fort Osage, on the Missouri, and Prairie du Chien, on the Upper Mississippi:

32,200	lbs. Deer	skins, principally shaved.
3,460	" Beaver	"
10,800	Muskrat	"
4,280	Racoon	"
738	Otter	"
250	Bear	"
150	Cub	"
260	Wild Cat	"
1,290	Fox	"
64	Fisher	"
70	Mink	"
250	Rabbit	"

A credit of three months will be given for all purchases exceeding two hundred dollars, on approved endorsed notes.

THO. L. M'KENNEY, *S. I. T.*
E. DAVIS, *Auct.*

Nov. 17th

1821: TRANSPORTATION OF FACTORY GOODS

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 121.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE Jany. 10, 1821

James Kennerly Esq. St. Louis

SIR—By a letter received from John Johnson Esq. U. S. Factor at P. du Chien dated on the 13 Oct: last he advises me that he had just returned from St. Louis where he had been waiting some time for the Goods forwarded for his factory from this office last spring, but that they had not reached St. Louis when he left that place. I am very much surprized at this information, as the goods were forwarded from this place by the middle of April and Major Woolley wrote that all had been forwarded in due time for their respective destinations. It becomes necessary for me to cause strict enquiry to be made into the cause of the delays which so frequently happen in the transportation of Factory supplies between Pittsburg and St. Louis,

there is improper conduct somewhere in this business and I beg of you to use your best endeavours to ascertain where it is, and inform me as soon as practicable that I may endeavour to obtain redress for the great losses which this Department has sustained by them. Mr. Johnson writes me he has left the Boat belonging to his factory with you—he says she is rather unsound in her bottom, but in other respects in good condition—as transportation can always be procured from P du Chien to St. Louis, I have determined on having the boat sold provided her value can be obtained. She was a very valuable Boat and cost with her outfit upwards of $1000. If you can sell her for a fair price do so, if not write me what offers you have for her and report to me her condition and will then direct what I think best to be done with her.

I enclose you a copy of a letter which I this day received from Mr. Thomas Willson of Bottetourt County Va. on the subject of the $1500. which you wrote me you had directed his Brother to remit to me. I shall expect a remittance from you immediately on receipt of this if you have not made one before it reaches you.

T. L. McK[enney].

1821: DROUINE IN WISCONSIN

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C83,84.]

Woolf River 22 feby 1821

Dear Sir—as I am to Remain at this place til Spring I wish you to take a Inventory of all the Goods and peltry that you may have meade and [go to] Lake Due Buff[46] and take Charge of the [MS torn] place and send me the Goods that I send you and take a Inventory of the Goods and peltry at that place you

[46] Buffalo Lake, in Marquette County, a widening of Fox River about twelve miles long and one-and-a-half broad. It was much frequented by the Winnebago. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, viii, pp. 290, 291.—Ed.

will give Barth[47] a passel of Goods to Gow on Rock River and alsow sind Jackson with him to Cape [Keep] Count of the Goods you will inform them that tha ar not to make one Credit I wish you to send sent Garmain[48] as soon as possable and you will send with him one or tow men as you may think proper to send for provitions as I am going to send to the Bay for and will Be heyer as soon as tha Can Gow and Com Back You will find the Ere Bobs in mi trunk as send the Kees and you will alsow send me one pr of pantloons and one Blue Cot wich you will find them in my trunk and you will find an Invois of all the Goods and Due for the Best. Dont sell at a Lost for the Goods better Remind on hand you will tell Boprée [Beaupré] alsow not to sell at a Lost you [k]now the price and I put all Confidence in you therfor Due for the Best I saw your father and all the famblay they ar all well

I Remain Yours &c

LEWIS ROUSE

Mr. Joseph J. Porlier on the Menoy

Mr. J. J. porlier

DEAR SIR—I Recived all the Goods you sent me and the Invoieses and found all Correct you will Receive one and one-half Bushel Corn and peas you will give to Barthe some of the peas and Corn if he Shud want and I send you List of the Goods for him and Jackson and you must prase him for that is the onley way to Due with him as to the Credit to Be Maid you most now [know] the indians well Before you make them But as you now the indians you will Due for the Best the price of tallow I cant say But the Coustom of takin it from the indians is 10 pounds for one plous [plus] as to the prices

---

[47] The Barthe family were originally of Detroit, and settled at Mackinac in the eighteenth century; see *Id*, xix, *passim*. They were much employed in the fur-trade, and Laurent Barthe was early at the Fox-Wisconsin portage; see *Id*, iii, pp. 288, 289.—ED.

[48] St. Germain was a common name among engagés; see *Id*, viii, pp. 385–387; xix, p. 190.—ED.

of the Goods you will find the invoices of them in mi trunk with some of my papers and I trust to your on [own] Judgement onley Due for the Best I remaind yours &c

Lewis Rouse

Woolf River 4 March 1821

1821: ARE FACTORS HONEST?

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 144.]

Office Indian Trade Feby. 28, 1821

The Honbl. Henry Southard

Sir—I have had the honor to receive your communication of yesterday in which you wish to be informed whether I have any reason to suspect the Agents employed at the U. S. Indian trading houses of making unwarrantable exactions of the Indians, with a view to their private emolument; whether the system of accompting is provided with checks likely to lead to a detection of such practice, and requesting to be furnished with an explanation of the mode by which the Factors accot. to this office: also whether there are any points outside of the accompting system which admit of fraud—and if so, what are they.

I have the honor to state, in reply, that I have not the vestige of a reason for suspecting either the integrity or honor of those agents, or any one of them. Their conduct in their official intercourse with this office, and in the exercise of the trust reposed in them has been such as to authorise the most perfect confidence in their fidelity; and this confidence has been the result of their own good conduct, for all except two of them are personally unknown to me.

The system of accompting I believe to be unexceptionable. It contains, in my opinion, all the checks of which the accounting system is susceptible. Of its adaption to the purposes for which it has been provided however, you will be able to judge from the following outlines of it.

Ten thousand dollars worth of Merchandize I will suppose to be transported to a trading post, with it goes the Invoice. This Invoice is copied on the books of the factory and forms the basis of its operations. The instructions to the Factor require him to enter upon the books of the factory every article which he may dispose of, and the price he receives for it; and every article taken in barter, and the price he allows for it. Of these operations quarter annual returns are required to be made by duplicate, one to the Treasury Department, and the other to this Office, and these returns embrace a *literal transcript from the factory Books.* The original Invoice of outfit being in this office, to stand the test of examination, the quarterly returns must be such as to square exactly with the stock in trade,—that is, the balance must be stated, and the returns must shew how much of the original Invoice has been disposed of, and of what articles, and at what prices, how much remains on hand, and of each article, what articles have been received in exchange for the Merchandize disposed of, at what prices have been allowed for each kind. The Merchandize remaining on hand, and the Cash, if any, and the articles received in barter making up the original amount the balance of loss or gain, as the case may be will shew on the balance sheet. From this it will be seen that an error or fraud of a quarter of a Cent can be detected with the same certainty as an error or fraud amounting to half the Capital. I can conceive of but one point at which it is possible for a fraud to be committed without the certainty of immediate detection, and this is a point which must always remain deficient in *any* accompting system. It is this, an article sold might be entered at a less price than was received for it. But this species of fraud implying an unusual degree of depravity, is provided against first, by a bond which both the Factor and asst. Factor are required to give with two good securities each in the penal sum of ten thousand doll's; and by their oath of office. To these, as an auxiliary check may be added the danger of confusion which a few mistakes must carry into the accompting system. The liability of detection would,

it is true, be lessened if *money* were the article received from the Indians, because it might be managed with a dexterity sufficient to elude ordinary observers. But even here the Clerks and Interpreters it is not unreasonable to suppose would sooner or later arrive at a knowledge of such a practise, and discover it. But the receipts do not happen to be in money, except indeed to a very limited extent, but in the bulkey articles of Peltries and Furs; and these it appears to me it were impossible for a factor to dispose of without being detected. It is known to every body how he is shut in by his official limits from all the privileges of trade, except on the public account, therefore, it seems highly improbable that he could convert the furs and Peltries, thus fraudulently received, into money, or effect exchanges for them in any other way without detection.

I have not only therefore no grounds whatever for suspecting the Factors of making unwarrantable exactions for their own emolument, but I discredit altogether the reasonable practicability of such iniquitous proceedings, or, if I did not, the Gentlemen who fill those places of trust are of that class of Citizens as to render so disreputable an imputation inadmissable unless it were made on the ground of demonstration.

T. L McK[enney]

1821: WISCONSIN TRADERS' LETTERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 8B18. Translated from the French.]

Cascalin 14 March 1821.

Augus Grignon

Dear Auguste—I write you this line on the chance of its reaching you moreover I hope that you have Received by locque ten Rhome my Letters since he brought word that you had not Received those that I wrote you before &c.

I send you word that Charles is ill in Bed I believe in consequence of his affair with Mons. Rouse. I believe also that

he does not boast of it. That is why you should be on your Guard in relation to your Credits.

I fear that Poor Charles will do Nothing himself Nor By means of Dominique Brunette.[49] Several things are wanting especially Liquor in order to Procure an Advantage.

I think that Peaulitte[50] at the Menominee [la folle] will not Lose Anything especially if the Savages remain The 24 of February he had between 7 and 8 Packs in which there were 875 Martens he hopes to obtain 1000. The rest are deer Skins and other Peltry. As for affairs here and at La Bay they go about as I wrote you Nothing For one's work. The flour mill does a Little and the other makes some progress after putting 10 Days of work on it, however I do not believe that more will be done on it. I am here myself all the time I cannot see that I make much progress Marguitte [Marguerite Grignon] came here yesterday the 13th on her way to the Sugar Camp She departs tomorrow and everything is Nearly ready, for 6 days they have kept watch of the flow of sap.

I will give you on some other occasion a better idea of the General news there is not time at present. I received a Letter the 28 of November from Mons. Stuard [Robert Stuart] & he presents his Compliments to you if one sends to the Woods by the Boats Our dear mother is always ill and now a little worse & Mons. Langevin came the 12th here looking for flour but the Ice was too bad Robert almost Perished with his load of Grain in going with him He sends you his Compliments My young Folks assure you of their Respects. The two Scholars do not make much progress but my Position obliges me to detain them sometimes in spite of myself. Our friend Fily is

---

[49] Dominique Brunette, in familiar intercourse usually called "Masca," was a native of that place in Canada. Coming to Green Bay in 1796, he embarked in trading and farming enterprises, married Domitelle, sister of the Grignons, and died in Green Bay in 1862. He left several children, some of whose descendants still live in the Fox River valley.—Ed.

[50] For Paul (Hippolyte) Grignon, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 375, note 27.—Ed.

at present at la Baye for 15 Days and I believe it is better for our interests that I should be here and he there. As for provisions there have been no Fish and I was obliged during this winter to use one barrel of pork and another that I had sent from the Bay. We have no forage at present I can only inform you that I bought 2 [word illegible] of Mons Reaume[51] and 1 2/3 from the Bay

My dear Ag[t] I have done my best and could not do otherwise my trust is in God my sole Hope Compliments to Makere and embrace the Children for me Especially [names illegible] and believe that I shall always remain with great Esteem Your brother & friend P. Grignon

I again report that I am staying here to look after the Cutting of trees for the mill.[52] Your Calves have been killed, but as I have told you I need your help without your assistance I do not hope to do Anything.

[Source, same as the preceding document, but 8B19. Translated from the French.]

Lac Poéhigane [Poygan] 16 march 1821

Dear Friend—These lines are to wish you good health as well as Macre's and the Children whom I embrace. A Band of your Savages came here who told me that they had payed but I convinced them of the contrary, but the brother of Tabac only wished to give me 4 Martens. He has 2 Bear skins he says they are for you. I did my best & threatened him if he traded them elsewhere. The eldest son of tabac has 2 bears and 6 or 7 martens. I had nothing from him, neither had Mr. Rousse who trades here and in the neighborhood. he trades for your and my Credits rather than for his own. If possible I wish you

---

[51] For a sketch of Judge Réaume, who lived at the Little Kaukaulin, see *Ibid*, p. 142, note 88.—Ed.

[52] This was the grist mill to which Augustin Grignon referred as having been built at the Grand Kaukaulin soon after American occupation. See *Id*, iii, p. 254.—Ed.

would send me your credits, I shall be Glad thereof that I may be more firm in demanding their payment. toquonigont went away before I knew why, he did not give me anything. I suppose that Our friend Pierre has written you that I am ill, but the Savages have killed Nothing and there was no way of making any Returns. I am hurried, but embrace macré and the children for me. Domitile[53] embraces you all and I beg you to believe that I am for life your friend and brother

C. Grignon

I do not answer the expectations of my neighbors for I am not a good writer [?] Girad is most [word illegible] of all the men. N. B. Lours blanc [White bear] has had his cache of last autumn robbed, which was worth 250^{lbs} to 300^{lbs} I have not yet settled it. Maska left yesterday Thy brother and friend

C. Grignon.

Addressed: To Monsieur Agt Grignon trader at the Wisconsin By favor of Mons. Rousse.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 8B22. Translated from the French.]

Lac de Poéhigane 31 March 1821.

Dear Auguste—I profit by the opportunity of Mauvaise hache [bad Ax] to inform you that he owes me and I beg you to demand of him and Louison and Glaud what they owe and the Bréchue of font du Lac who is there for Maska has not seen him. Being out of my Course I can not easily go to see these Savages but I rely on you. For the neighbors have the advan-

[53] Domitelle was the eldest daughter of Charles Grignon, by a Chippewa mother. She later married James Knaggs, who was a son of a well-known pioneer of Monroe County, Mich. James and his wife lived first at Grand Butte des Morts; then (about 1831 or 1832) moved down Fox River to what is now Algoma, a part of the city of Oshkosh. There Knaggs had a ferry, and accommodated travellers. See account in Juliette A. Kinzie, *Waubun* (Caxton Club ed., Chicago, 1901), pp. 307–309. Knaggs lived in Winnebago County until his death, and his descendants still reside there.—Ed.

tage of me that have more people, but as for the Credits it is not possible to claim them.

Our dear mother has been very ill but by the last note of our friend Pierre it seems she is better. The fond du Lac has not Given me a Big Hunt and Mer Sauvage has killed nothing He fasted all winter Dear Ag^{t} if I had one man who Knew the savages and was trusty I would have done Something more. The Derouines are a complete Loss. Embrace Macrér and the children for me, and awaiting the pleasure of hearing your News believe me with all possible esteem Thy friend & brother

C. Grignon

Domittille embraces thee and her aunt and all the children and la folleavoine. My Compliments to all the men and to Francois [Roy] and his family.

Addressed: Pierre [sic] Grignon, trader at the Portage Wisconsin By the mauvaise hache.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C87.]

Green Bay 18th April 1821

Mr Joseph Rolette

Sir—Your letter of the 23rd Oct. last reached me the 13 Nov last by Col Lee and I have had no opportunity of answering it till this moment. I am getting the body of a boat made, I have not purchased the horse yet but I will get [one] before the time you have mentioned. every thing is dull in this place and I am just in the same Situation as usual no privileges whatsoever. there is a great many troops here but no Cash it is the suttler has the advantage only there came on a great number of adventurers here (say) Americans late last fall with a great deal of property so that this place was doubly overstocked and they have done but little business either as for Furs there is none come to this place & what hunt the Indians did make in the Interior it is between A. Grignon & Porlier & Rouse that will make then what can I do as well as L. G. we have no advantage we have our hands tied I will make a heavy loss

again this year. in fact it is throwing away property for me to take goods for carrying on the trade under the great disadvantage I Labour under at present it is better for me to drop it entirely I suppose you have heard before this that there is a reduction in the army of 2 Regiments 150 officers & 2 Brigidier Generals A good many of these here will go the Works of the new Fortification here is stopt & suspended till further orders & it appears that the Factorys will be done away with after this year I suppose that you heard that your Brother Laurent[54] went down to Detroit at the last sail [?] last fall and has returned but I cannot say if he returned by Water or Land. I Could not sell any of your sugar as there was a great deal in the place and no one to purchase If you want wheels I am geting them made also, I am geting two pairs of wheels & two Bodys of boats made & all ready. Inclosed you will receive two Letters to your address that came to hand late last fall. I will conclude with best respects to Mrs. Rolette & hoping to have the pleasure of seeing you in good health I remain Your obedient

J. Lawe

N. B. My Compliments to Mr. Bailly[55] and to all friends

---

[54] Laurent Rolette was a fur-trader for many years. At one time he had a trading establishment near the modern Muscoda, on Wisconsin River. Later he was clerk at the Fox-Wisconsin portage for Pierre Paquette. The records of the first session of the court of Michilimackinac County, note a case of Laurent Rolette against Edward Biddle for assault, June 7, 1819.—Ed.

[55] Alexis Bailly was one of the younger generation of fur-traders. He was born at Mackinac in 1798, a son of Joseph Bailly, concerning whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, *passim*. Alexis entered the fur-trade as an employee of Joseph Rolette, and in 1821 conducted a drove of cattle to the Red River settlers. Later he was established as an agent of Rolette and the American Fur Company at Mendota, Minn. There he married Lucy, daughter of Alexander Faribault. In consequence of some dispute with the Indian agent, Bailly was in 1835 superseded at Mendota by H. H. Sibley, and removed down the river to Wabasha, where he had a store and a warehouse, and also conducted some Indian trade. He was a member of the first Minnesota territorial legislature, and died at his home in Wabasha June 3, 1861.—Ed.

dont fail to write me a long Letter by the very first opportunity that offers & let me Know all the News & I will be much obliged to you.

1821: DETERIORATION OF FACTORY GOODS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 183.]

[*Circular letter to U. S. Factors—J. W. Johnson and others*]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE April 25, 1821.

SIR—You will make selections of your most unsaleable goods, and especially those which have remained longest on hand, and sell them for *cost and charges of transportation* if you can do no better. I do not restrict you in the disposition you may make of them as to the purchasers, but only as to security. This must be unexceptionable, and without the possibility of failure. You may sell on time, *thus secured,* to reach twelve or Eighteen months, or even two years.

This arrangement is made from the knowledge I have that articles in the course of so many years must have accumulated which add no capacity to your stock, and are receiving injury with every succeeding year, and consequently losing value. No doubt some articles will not bring cost and charges, such I mean as are moth-eaten or damaged in their transportation—such articles you will do the best you can with. You will make seperate returns of the articles disposed of under these instructions putting down their quality, cost, and price sold at—to whom, on what security, and the time or times of payment.

T. L. McK

1821: FAILURE OF GREEN BAY FACTORY

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 199.]

OFF: INDIAN TRADE May 19th. 1821

Mathew Irwin Esq Green Bay

SIR—Your letter and returns for the 4th. quarter of 1820, are received. You have hitherto given me the information

that the cause of the decline of your trade owed its origin to the private traders, and to their contrivances to put down the factory. Do the same causes operate still to produce the results of these last returns, or is it to be taken as evidence that the Factory is not necessary for the further accomodation of the Indians? I mean by its being *necessary,* its importance, in the view of justice and convenience to the Indians and policy, as regards the influence the trade has in attaching them to us. If the house is kept from answering these ends by the unjust practices and the contriving policy of private traders to get it out of the way with a view after its discontinuance to practise frauds upon the Indians, then I shall wish all the evidence in support of this purpose I can command, In order that a result so unfriendly to these unfortunate people may be obviated by such congressional acts, as shall take away from these traders their power to accomplish an end so disreputable to them and injurious to the Indians. If however the trade has declined from other causes, then, let me know it, if you please, that I may recommend to the President the discontinuance, or removal of the factory. I wish you at the same time to write me what point you think would be the most eligible in the event of removal, by most eligible I mean most useful to the Indians—keeping in view the maintaining the house out of the profits of the intercourse.

In naming a point, name also the tribes of Indians that would hold intercourse with the factory if located there and whether in going to it you would interfere with any existing factory say also what expence would attend a removal; and whether the same goods which now constitute your stock would be suited to the trade at the point you may propose.

I wish you to be full, but definite on these points, and that you write me immediately.

T. L. McK.

1821: GUNPOWDER NEEDED FOR TRADE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 8B60. Translated from the French.]

La Bay verte 7 June 1821

Robert Stuart Esquire Michilimackinac

My dear Sir—The present is to advise you that my returns are very bad. I had little hope last autumn that they would be very good: but they are worse than I had expected. However we should have done more if we had had the Means of furnishing our Savages with powder for they Traded part of their Hunt for that Article with those who know well how to profit by it. We held out against buying at the price that our factor desired to sell to us $2.00 per pound, our hope being that Mr. Crooks had promised to procure some for me as well as Mr. Lawe.

There is much sugar here but few Peltries, the Rats, Beaver and Raccoons are not up to the Average, there are no bears. Mr. Rouse and my brothers have much Complained of the Savages failing to Hunt. Nothing to mention that merits your attention, if you will have the kindness to send me a little powder however I shall be Glad to receive it not having had a grain in my possession for a Long time

I beg you to present my best respects to Madame Stuart and Compliments to your family, my very Humble Civilities to Mr. Crooks Wishing you the most perfect [health] I am with consideration and respect dear Sir Your Humble & very Obedient Servant L. Grignon

---

[Source, same as preceding document, but 8B68.]

Michilimackinac 25 June 1821

Mr John Lawe

Dear Sir—I returned to this place the day before yesterday & found your favor of 6th instant addressed to Mr Stuart which had reached him the day of my arrival. It is much to be regretted that you have suffered as you have for want of Gunpow-

der, but I last fall proved every where unsuccessful in my attempts to purchase that article

By the *Superior* we send you 2 Kegs Gun Powder marked J. L. weighing 50 lb and hope they will go safe. Our Goods are just now landing. Col: McKay says your Uncle was well not long ago I am D^r Sir Your Most ob Svt

RAM^Y CROOKS

1821: AMERICAN VERSUS BRITISH TRADE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 2D7.]

DETROIT 27 June 1821.

SIR—I received some time since your letter but no favorable opportunity having occurred at the time of answering it, I postponed it until now.

I see no reason to doubt, but that your son has a perfect right to trade in the Indian Country, and his birth as an American Citizen gives him privileges upon this subject which cannot be taken from him. The Agent at Michilimackinac Col^o Boyd is an upright and honorable man and I feel confident, that he will render you perfect justice, unmoved by any of the prejudices or misrepresentations of trade. Should your situation render a letter from me necessary, it shall be given with much pleasure, conforming however, as I must do, to the laws on this subject. I shall leave here next week for Chicago, and should you be desirous of making affirmation to me, a letter directed to that place will find me there any time between now and the beginning of September.

Please to present my best respects to your amiable family. I am under great obligations to them for the hospitality and politeness with which they treated me during my continuance at S^t. Mary's last Season.[56]

---

[56] For John Johnston, to whom this letter is addressed, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 361, note 3. Cass is speaking here of his first visit to Lake Superior in 1820, and the incidents of his stay at Sault Ste. Marie; see note above cited, also Doty's Journal in *Id*, xiii, pp. 163–182.—ED.

Accompanying this I transmit to you certain printed questions which I have drawn upon the subject of Indian manners and customs. You will greatly oblige me by preparing at your leisure such observations in relation to them, as your knowledge of the subject may enable you to form. For a particular reason I have this subject much at heart. With Sincere Esteem I am Dear Sir Your obt St

Lew Cass

John Johnstone Esquire

[Source, same as preceding document, but 55B73.]

Indian Agency Office Michilimackinac

Charles Grignon is hereby permitted to Trade with the Indians of the Folleavoine & Winnebago nations on the Fox, Wisconsin & Upper Mississippi Rivers until the first day of July next by virtue of a License issued by me this day in favor of Augustin Grignon & Charles Grignon Given under my hand at Michilimackinac this 3. day of September 1821.

George Boyd
U. S. Ind: Agent

[Source, same as preceding document, but 8B75.]

Drummond Island[57] 5h July 1821.

My Dear Sir—I received your favor of the 20th June and am much obliged to you for your Kind remembrances. It is with feelings of real Sympathy that I contemplate your unfortunate situation and indeed business must be extremely bad if equally so with the distressed situation of this Country, the Canadas particularly the lower province presents a scene of the greatest possible misery, and tho' provisions are at the lowest ebb, thousands of people are in a state of almost absolute Star-

[57] For a history of the post on Drummond Island, see *Id*, xix, p. 146, note 94.—Ed.

vation from the Scarcity of Cash, mens Wages are exceedingly low, so much so, that many poor people are glad to labour for their living. Peltries, I am told, have sold well and there are many purchasers at McKinac The Hudsons Bay & North West have joined which will throw a vast number of people out of employ in that Country and as their trade will be Carried on by the Way of Hudsons Bay it will be a great loss to the Canada Merchants.

I have at length got Some news of Your land part of which is excellent other is bad. I am so troubled with Indians that I cannot put my hand on the letter which I received, however I'll give it you when You Come in. Please tell Mr Porlier junior that he is entitled to land,[58] but before he Can obtain a deed for it he must pay about £5 fees for every hundred Acres, he must clear 5 Acres, build a house and make a road in front of the lot, which is more than the land would be worth, however on those conditions it can be got. Please present my Compliments to all friends, In haste Yours truly, T. G. Anderson

N. B. So much depends on the *chance of opportunity* that really I am at a loss to say which is the cheapest way to York.

Mr. Louison Grignon Green Bay

1821: FACTORIES UNPROFITABLE

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 226.]

Off: Indian trade July 5, 1821.[59]

The Honbl. Secy. of War

Sir—I have the honor respectfully to represent that for three years last past the two factories on the Lakes, one at Chicago,

---

[58] Joseph Jacques Porlier was entitled to a grant from the Canadian government for his services in the expedition against Prairie du Chien, during the War of 1812–15. See *Id*, ix, p. 264.—Ed.

[59] This letter was first printed in *Id*, vii, pp. 280–282. It is here reproduced as important to the continuity of the present series of documents.—Ed.

the other at Green Bay, have been in a measure useless to the Indians and in a pecuniary point of view to the Govt. also. This state of things is owing entirely to the unsuitable provisions which exist for the regulation of the trade. Hordes of private adventurers availing themselves of the looseness of the system have crowded into these parts on acct. of the superiority of the Furs which are taken there, and level all sorts of policy but their own, by the powerful agency which they derive from the free use of spiritous liquors as an article of their commerce, and after which the Indians, however afflicting they know the consequence to be will go.[60]

This view of the state of these two Factories should have been given thus formally before, had I not waited in the hope that Congress would have placed this trade under the guidance of suitable regulations, which, if done, would ensure to the Govt. the harmony and attachments of these lake Indians, and to the Indians all the consequences which the Govt. contemplated, in the adoption of this just and humane branch of its policy. This hope, and the apprehension that a removal of the factories which alth'o they do but little in the way of trade, operate as a Check to the traders might expose the Indians to oppression, seemed to authorize me in waiting for the final judgment of the Congress in this matter. I am unable however, on a review of this subject to realize in the proceedings of the last Congress any additional disposition to place this item upon what I consider its proper basis; and the continuation of the same inactivity which has hitherto characterized the business done at these two factories, promising to make inroads upon the fund allotted

---

[60] See McKenney's report to Congress, dated December, 1820, in *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, pp. 221–223. The factory system was at this time on trial for its existence. The opposition of the powerful private companies, and their influence on Congress, as well as the unfavorable reports of territorial governors like Cass, all foreshadowed its downfall. See documents in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 278; xix, pp. 349, 350; also *ante*, letters of Jan. 28, 1818, Sept. 14, 1818, April 7, 1820, and Feb. 28, 1821; and *Annals of Congress*, xxxvii, p. 1227.—Ed.

for the Trade, I do not feel myself authorised further to delay a decision on the subject, and recommend it accordingly for the executive approval. It is to break up and discontinue, the two factories located at Chicago and Green Bay. In making this decision however, I am led to it entirely from considerations growing out of the duty which my trust imposes on me, and which embraces an obligation binding on me to keep the capital from diminution and not from considerations of *policy*. My opinion is that an abandonment of these posts must tend to much excitement and a corresponding aleniation [sic] of feelings on the part of the Indians from the Govt., as well as to bloodshed. This, however, is a part of the case at which I feel myself authorized but incidentally to glance.

I propose on breaking up the trading houses at Chicago and Green bay to unite the stocks so far as they may furnish suitable materials, and follow the military post with a Factory to the St. Peters.[61] The Govt. is not yet known in the exercise of its parental capacity in supplying the wants of the Indians in that region. In addition to the advantages which the Indians will derive from a factory located at or near the Military post, will be the active and abundant returns which will be received from it.

If this recommendation be approved, I will have to dispose of at Chicago, the items enumerated in the enclosed Invoice, which are unsuited to a trade at the St. Peters, and which, supposing they may be useful in the event of a treaty with any tribes of Indians in that region, I propose to turn over to the Indian Dept. at cost and charges; and pass the amount to the debit of the Indian Dept. % with this office.

T. L. McK.

---

[61] It does not appear that any factory was established at Fort Snelling, for the factory system was soon abolished.—Ed.

1821: COMPETITORS UNITE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 8B89.]

Michilimackinac 20 July 1821.

Mr Jacques Porlier Senr

Dear Sir—I have had with our friend M^r^ Stuart the pleasure to receive your several letters of 21 & 26 June and 8 July. The Captain very honestly delivered all your Packs in good order, although we had nothing by which to claim them. We observe the deficit of 10^lb^ Gun-Powder

We perfectly agree with you that the nature of your trade ought to be changed, and we trust it will be so. M^r^ Rouse returns without having been able to settle his business at Court here. He proposes passing the winter at the Bay, and we will give him a few goods to sell—the partnership is therefore at an end. We paid your order for $16. 43/100 favor of George McGulpin.[62]

We shall be happy to receive and execute your memorandum, and we will bear in mind that you want a Boat and some Men

It is matter of regret that your Men did not get the Wood we wanted, and we trust it may yet be had

For your french Law Books I made every enquiry both in Canada and the United States but none could be found In haste I am Dear Sir your most ob Svt

Ram^y^. Crooks

P. S. M^rs^ Stuart desires me to return you many thanks for your present of Sugar R. Crooks

---

[Source, same as preceding document, but 61B66.]

Whereas from long experience and repeated losses, we have

[62] The McGulpins were a well-known Mackinac family, whose father, Patrick, appears to have come to America as a soldier, and married a French-Canadian. See Mackinac Register in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, xix.—Ed.

learned to entertain correct and just ideas of the evils resulting from Such an opposition in the trade of Green Bay and its dependencies, as we have individually Supported and Sustained against each other for several years last past; and Whereas it is our earnest desire that concord may be restored to us as neighbors and our trade benefitted and improved by a Junction of the heretofore conflicting interests; therefore we the Subscribers to this instrument have after mature deliberation determined to make and conclude the following Article of Contract and agreement, viz—that is to say—Augustin Grignon acting for himself and now present, and acting by special powers for his Brother Pierre Grignon who is absent, Louis Grignon and John Lawe both now present, and Ramsay Crooks agent of the american fur Company Acting of his own Accord for and in behalf of Jaques Porlier Sen^{r} of Green Bay now absent, do by these presents hereby voluntarily agree and engage to give up and abandon all and every species of trade, commerce, or traffic, which they have in conjunction with others or individually carried on at Green Bay, or any other Section of country usually supplied with Merchandize therefrom; excepting only whatever appertains to the Mills, Farms, Cattle, and the like property they severally possess and that they will truly, honestly, and faithfully join and consolidate all their interests in trade, on the terms and Conditions following viz—

1st Each of the parties to this Contract and agreement shall be equally interested, that is to say, he shall receive one fifth of the net gain arising on the business or he shall pay one fifth of the loss which may accrue on the trade contemplated to be carried on under this agreement

2nd There shall be Annually Appointed by a Majority of the parties hereunto an agent who shall reside at Green Bay, and whose duty it shall be to direct all the local concerns of the Copartnership, and manage its affairs generally. but he shall not have power to contract any debt on account of the Copartnership, except what is obviously necessary; and he shall be held individually responsible for whatever amount he may trust to those who cannot or do not pay when the Sums they may sev-

erally owe shall become due, and he shall also be individually liable for all improper or unnecessary disbursements he may make and no other one of the parties here unto shall have power to make any bargains or contract any debt of whatsoever nature such bargains or debt may be on the Companys account unless specially authorized so to do; and each and every one shall be solely and individually liable for every transaction he may make without such authority.

3rd Each of the parties hereunto shall devote his whole time bestow all his Attention and exert himself according to the best of his capacity for the benefit of the copartnership; and the Station each partner shall occupy with the duties he is to discharge shall be settled and decided by a Majority of the parties to this Agreement.

4th All the Merchandize remaining on hand belonging to either individual composing this concern shall be transferred to, and be taken to Account by the Copartnership at the Invoice cost, and transport to Green Bay from Michilimackinac, and shall be payable and become due on the first day of July One thousand Eight hundred and twenty two. And the credits which have been made to the Indians by the parties hereunto during and since last Spring shall be assumed and taken to Account by the Copartnership at such a valuation as shall be fixed by a Majority of the partners.

5th The Goods Wares or Merchandize which may be required by each individual interested herein either for the use of his family or that of the people in his private employ or Services on Farms or otherwise not at variance with the spirit of this agreement, shall be furnished by the Copartnership at a small advance on the Actual cost of the Articles, but the rate of advance, and the Amount which each member of the Company shall at such rate be entitled to receive, Will be decided and determined by a Majority of the parties to this agreement.

6th While absent from Green Bay on the business of the Company it is agreed and understood that the Copartnership shall pay the traveling charges and necessary expenses of either of the partners employed on such service. But whether each

of the parties hereunto shall support himself while at Green Bay from his own resources or shall be supplied from a common fund is left to be settled at Green Bay by a Majority of those interested herein.

7th The Accounts of the Concern shall be settled Annually on the first day of August in order that the precise state of Affairs of the Company shall be known at least once a year. And each of the parties to this agreement feeling anxious to secure Success in his future trade, and desirous of destroying old habits of extravagance or unnecessary liberality hereby pledge and bind themselves to reduce every expence wherever practicable, either by going out themselves to winter in the Indian Country instead of employing persons for that purpose who never will do the concern that justice which a partner can, by reducing the number of Boatmen usually engaged to a bare sufficiency for the purposes of trade alone, and generally to practice the most rigid economy in every department of the business.

8th as some of the parties to this agreement cannot under existing circumstances go into the Indian Country, it will unless the disability is removed early next Autumn, become indispensable to decide on the Station each is to fill in the Concern differently from what might be the result was each partner at liberty to visit the Indian Country for the purposes of trade. It is therefore hereby agreed that should the disability to enter the Indian Country as traders continue in regard to some of those herein concerned a reasonable allowance will be made to those parties to this agreement who can and do enter the Indian Country next Autumn for the purposes of trade. The Allowance to be determined at Green Bay. It is also hereby agreed and understood that Ramsay Crooks agent of the American fur Company acting for and in behalf of Jaques Porlier Senr without any specific authority, cannot bind the said Jaques Porlier Senr to this agreement. If therefore the said Jaques Porlier Senr should refuse to become a party in the Company or Copartnership to be established by this agreement the other parties hereunto consent and agree to deliver him One fifth of the Merchandize carried out to Green Bay this Season for the trade of

the whole concern now to be established, and the goods so delivered to the said Jaques Porlier Sen[r] shall be charged at the Invoice price with the proportion of Charges from this place to Green Bay.

and it is further agreed and understood that this agreement shall be and continue in force for three years from the first day of August last, past, and to end and be determined on the first day of August one thousand Eight hundred and twenty Four. But should any one of the parties to this agreement feel so disposed, he shall be fully at liberty to retire at the expiration of the first year which will be on the first day of August One thousand eight hundred and twenty two, by declaring two months previous to the Agent of the Concern at Green Bay his intention so to retire.

In witness whereof the parties to this agreement have hereunto set their hands and Seals at Michilimackinac in the Territory of Michigan this twenty fourth day of August in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty one.

A[GT] GRIGNON [Seal]
A[GT] GRIGNON for PIER GRIGNON [Seal]
L. GRIGNON [Seal]
JOHN LAWE for JACQUES PORLIER Sen[r]
RAM[Y] CROOKS *Agent Am. Fur Co* [Seal]

In presence of
BEN. CLAPP
JOHN W. MASON

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B9.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 24 Augt. 1821

Jacques Porlier Esqr Green Bay

DEAR SIR—By the Pontiac we sent you Gum & other articles amounting to $166.28 which we hope you duly received in good order.

Since that time we have carefully perused again your several

letters of 20 & 27 July and 6 Aug^{t}, examined particularly the state of the trade in which you are engaged and reflected on the probable result. From all this, and repeated conversations with the gentlemen engaged in the same pursuits with yourself, we concluded that without a general interest, or rather coalition of conflicting interests so as to destroy opposition among yourselves, the balance standing against each of you would be more likely to increase than diminish, and eventually plunge you all into inextricable difficulties. Seriously impressed with the obvious correctness of these opinions, we recommend to the gentlemen now here a junction of interest, among five of you, viz, yourself, P. Grignon, A. Grignon, L. Grignon and John Lawe. M^{r} Rouse being left out on account of his embarrassments, at my own request. The act of Copartnership is enclosed, and after deliberation you will please notify the other parties to the agreement of your determination. I am decidedly of opinion that you ought to accept, else I never would have undertaken to act as I have done for you; and I may be allowed to add I consider this arrangement as the only means of salvation to the trade. I have not the time, neither is it necessary with you to dilate on the advantages which may be derived from this association of interests, in order to persuade you to join. I have done what I thought for the best, but if I have been mistaken, you are fully at liberty to dissent, and the other parties will deliver you according to the agreement one fifth of all the goods the Copartnership carry out for the trade. For these you will give a receipt and you will settle with the Am: Fur Company for the amount. Part of the Outfit goes in this vessel, and the remainder will follow in a few days.

We have not yet any Inventory of the goods remaining from the joint Outfit of last year, and will thank you to send it by next opportunity that we may close that account and be enabled to make up and transmit your private concerns stated to this time.

We paid your dft for $94. 5/100, but we charged it to your private a/c not having the letter of advice at the time. Please say to which account it belongs.

Mr Jacques Porlier Junr. is Cr in our Books $1140. as directed in your letter of 20 July last.

We wish to be sure of getting the Cooper's wood, and if you cannot succeed perhaps Mr Rouse to whom we wrote on the subject, can supply it. Our object is to be certain of having it this Fall, and we are willing to allow something extra in price by getting it without the Bark. we want yet four Cords I am Dear Sir Your most ob Svt RAMy CROOKS

1821: A WINTERER'S ENGAGEMENT

[Source, same as preceding document, but 56B121. Translated from the French.]

Before the undersigned was present[63] *Francois Talard,* who voluntarily engages and by these presents is engaged to *Augustin Grignon* here present, and agrees at his first requisition to depart from this post in the capacity of a *Winterer* to make the voyage going and returning and *winter one year and shall be released at the end of next June,* to be fed with Indian corn or other food to be obtained in the Savages Country. And to have good and due care during the journey and at the Said place of all the merchandise, peltry, provisions, utensils and all other necessary things for the voyage, for trading, and wintering; to serve, to obey and faithfully execute all the said *Augustin Grignon* or all persons to whom the said agent of the American Fur Company is authorized by these presents to transfer this engagement, Shall legally and honestly order him to do; to seek the latter's profit, avoid his damage, notify him of all things touching his interest that shall come to the former's knowledge, to work in the posts, towns, villages, and fields not considered Indian territory, if required; and in general to do all that a good Engagé should, and is required to do; without trading on

[63] This document is made out on a printed form. The words in italics are those written in the blank spaces left therein for the purpose.—ED.

his own account with the Savages; nor absenting himself from, nor leaving the said service, under the penalties imposed by the laws, and the loss of his wages.

This engagement thus made for, and in consideration of the sum of *seven hundred* livres or ancient shillings of Quebec or *one hundred and sixteen* dollars 75 cents, money of the United States, that the said *Bourgeois* or he to whom this engagement is transferred promises, and obliges himself to pay *to the said Engagé* one month after his time has expired; and at the beginning he shall receive an equipment consisting of *one Three point Blanket, one two and a half ditto, one of Cloth, two Cotton Shirts, four livres of Tobacco and two of Soap.*

Done and passed at Michilimakinac the *twenty fourth of August* in the year one thousand eight hundred and *twenty one;* and they have Signed with the exception of the said *Engagé* who having declared on being asked that he does not know how, has made his usual mark after having the above read.

FRANCOIS TALARD + his mark

In the presence of
JOHN LAWE
W. FARNSWORTH *Witnesses*

1821: ECONOMIES ESSENTIAL

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B19.]

McKINAC 31st Augt 1821

DEAR SIR—Just at this moment I have learned that the Revenue Cutter is going to leave this for the Bay. I have only time to say that Mr A Grignon & myself expects to leave this at the Longest in two or three Days and hopes things goes on well for our Mutual Interest at the Bay. our best respects to all persons at the Bay in haste I remain your Yours

JOHN LAWE

Mr. L. Grignon present

N. B. please give Capt Knapp [all the] Water or Musk Melons [he wishes] to take or any thing else [from] out of the garden. J. LAWE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B19]

MICHILIMACKINAC 4 Sept 1821

Jacques Porlier Senr. Esq. Green Bay

DEAR SIR—Since I had last this pleasure I have received your favors of 24 and 26 Ulto, and thank you for the information they contain

I am particularly gratified that you are so thoroughly impressed with the necessity there exists for introducing the most rigid economy into the commerce of your quarter, and I am happy to say that in the two Mess^rs Grignons who came here this Summer as also in Mr Lawe, I have found a corresponding disposition—all acknowledge the folly of the speculations you incautiously embarked in, and promise to avoid the like in future. I therefore hope the arrangement I ventured to make in your behalf will meet your approbation, and I freely confess I deemed that measure the only Step that could be taken to place the trade on a proper footing. Next year arrangements will be made that no one shall be equipped to go against your company in the Follevoine [on Menomonee River], and it will afford us pleasure to aid as far as we consistently can in producing such a state of things as will benefit your concern effectually.

By M^r Lawe I send you a Cable for your Boat; and by first conveyance I will send to Detroit for the Justices Blanks your letter to M^r Berthelot was duly delivered to him.

I have shewn to Mons^r Blondin his Note for $17.87½ which he promises to pay as soon as he can, but as he remains at present on the beach, and is not likely to find employment, I fear it will be hard to collect the amount.

M^r John Dousman acknowledges he ought to pay for Ignace Lafortune, and will do so whenever he is in funds I am Dear Sir Your Most Ob Svt RAM^y. CROOKS

1821: DAMAGED GOODS AS PRESENTS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 261.]

OFF: INDIAN TRADE Septr. 25th. 1821

The Honbl. Secretary of War

SIR—Should you have occasion to distribute Presents to any of the Indian tribes thr'o the Agencies at St. Louis, and Prairie du Chien, I beg leave respectfully to represent that there are in the factory at P. du Chien varieties of Indian goods, among them Blankets, which having been, (some of them) long on hand, and others a little defaced, from the bursting of tierces and from immersions, are rendered less acceptable in the way of barter. But which would be entirely acceptable as presents.

A disposition of these goods in this way would be usefull to this branch of the Government operations, and as usefull to the Indian Department, as if fresh supplies should be purchased.

T. L. Mc.K.

1821: CITIZENSHIP GRANTED

[MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 61B73, 91C1.]

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN
County of Brown } ss

Be it Known that at an adjourned session of the County Court for the County aforesaid begun on the first day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred & twenty-one personally appeared Jacques Porlier Senior and then and there gave satisfactorry evidence of his residence within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States during the period specified in the first section of An Act dated March 26th 1804 and has so continued to reside to the present date: and also took the oath required by the Act of April 11th 1802: Now therefore by the Authority of the Court aforesaid

the said Jacques Porlier Senior is declared to be a citizen of the United States of America.

Given at Green Bay this 2nd day of October, 1821.

N. G. Bean
Clerk P. T.

Territory of Michigan
County of Brown } 4 Oct. 1821

Be it known that at an adjourned session of the county court for the county aforesaid begun on the first day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred & twenty one personally appeared John Lawe and then and there gave satisfactory evidence of his residence within the limits & under the jurisdiction of the United States during the period specified in the first section of an Act dated March 26th 1804 and of his having so continued to reside to the present date; and also took the Oath required by the Act of Congress of the 11th of April 1802:

Now therefore by the Authority of the Court aforesaid the said John Lawe is declared to be a citizen of the United States of America.

N. G. Bean
Clerk Protem

Given at Green Bay this 4th day of October 1821.

1821: MILWAUKEE TRADE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B58. Translated from the French.]

Green Bay 11 October 1821

My dear Sir—I received your two agreeable Favors of the 13 of September last and of the 2nd Instant for which I tender you my very Humble thanks I shall not refuse to Accept your Generous offers in regard to further Information concerning the Lots of Dunwich & Dorchester and the means for

Establishing our rights if certain persons are in possession.[64] I leave it all entirely to you for you can form a Better idea of what is best for me to do.

I permit myself to give you an idea of the Hope we may have of the next Returns. the Manominee are about ready to go to the Missipy and Augustin my brother with them. The Opposition is stronger than ever. Joseph Brisbois[65] left here the 5th of this Month with Mr. Joseph Rolette's two barges, who I am told in passing the Portage of the Oisconsin left five Pieces of assorted cloth. the Factor has Equipped several for the River des Renards [Fox] of whom W. Jackson[66] is one with 5 ps cloth, on the river La Roche [Rock] 3 pieces, towards Milliwakie Jeanveau [Jacques Vieau] has 10 pieces of double faced assorted [cloth] and two other Equipments that he had formerly. Two [traders] on their own Account propose to sell a livre of powder for 2 Rats three point Blankets for Ten and the usual shirts furnished to Indians for Three.

I think that you should be apprised that they [have taken] Depositions against Mr. R. Robinson[67] & against McKinzie

---

[64] This apparently refers to the lands assigned to Charles Langlade for his services in the British army during the War of the American Revolution. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 299, 300.—Ed.

[65] Joseph Brisbois was a son of Michael Brisbois Sr., being born about the beginning of the 19th century. During the Winnebago War (1827) he was commissioned by Governor Cass as a lieutenant of militia; later (1830–36), he was clerk of the first court of Crawford County. In the census of the latter year, he resided at Prairie du Chien, the head of a family of six persons.—Ed.

[66] Jackson appears to have been an American trader who operated in Wisconsin for a short time only.—Ed.

[67] Rix Robinson was born in 1792 in Connecticut, but at an early age removed to New York, where he was well-educated and studied law. At the close of the War of 1812–15, he came West as a sutler, being stationed at Detroit, Mackinac, and Green Bay respectively. In 1817, Robinson entered the Indian trade, and established posts at South Chicago, Milwaukee, and on the Illinois River. In 1821 he bought out the trading post of Mrs. Laframboise on Grand River, Mich., and there established himself permanently, marrying an Indian woman. He was for many years agent for the American Fur Company in that vicinity, having a number of subsidiary posts, and being influential

junior[68] It appears that it is the Indian Agent at Chikagou who is prosecuting them, finally I learn that the Store at Milliwakie has been closed. if this is the case it shows that the Jealous spirit of Commerce is introducing itself to an unheard of degree. For the People paid by the Government, according to my thought, should not try to win one or another Individual just in order to make profit under the cover of care for the savages and of the Pretended Benefits that they receive from the Factories; that they should act for the profit of the Factors and their Employees and Injure Individuals is contrary to the Intentions of the Government.[69]

Excuse me if I have abandoned myself to Imprudent Reflections I leave Tomorrow to Rejoin my Barges. I beg you to accept my Wishes for your health. my brothers Charles [and Pierre] have charged me to present to you their Best

---

with the Indians. Between 1834 and 1836 he closed out his trade with the fur company, and undertook the promotion of American agricultural settlement. He aided in securing the Indian treaty of 1836, ceding to the United States a large part of Michigan for settlement; brought out the families of several of his brothers from New York, and efficiently promoted the development of western Michigan. Robinson held numerous public offices, such as state senator, constitutional convention member, and judge of the circuit court. He declined the Democratic nomination for governor, but influentially acted with that party. He died at his home in Ada, on Grand River, in 1875. One of his sons became a Methodist missionary to the Ottawa Indians of the Traverse region.—Ed.

[68] James Kinzie, son of John, the well-known early trader at Chicago, was born in Detroit, April 2, 1793. As a child, James lived in Virginia with his mother's family, returning in 1816 to the West, where he entered the Indian trade in the capacity of employee for several years of the American Fur Company. Besides his Milwaukee post, he had one at Racine, and in 1833 built the Green Tree tavern at Chicago. He was the first sheriff and first auctioneer of Cook County, and was well-known to its early settlers. Later he removed to Iowa County, Wis., where he died Jan. 13, 1866.—Ed.

[69] For the Green Bay factor's report of this episode, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 280.—Ed.

Respects I am with High Consideration my dear Sir Your very Humble Servant L. [Grignon]

P. S. In place of our late agent Col Bowyer we have a Good Agent and an Honorable man in the person of Major John Biddle.[70] I do not pretend to Eulogize any person, but this is due him.

Addressed: Ram. Crooks Esq. Michillimack. By the Ann, Capt. Ransom.

1821: FACTORIES CONSOLIDATED

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 175.]

Depmt of War October 18, 1821

Thos. L McKenney Esqr. Supt. I. Trade Georgetown.

Sir—The consolidation and transfer which you propose in your letter of 5th of July last, of the factories at Green Bay and Chicago, are approved.

In relation to the Merchandize which you state it will be necessary for you to dispose of at Chicago as unsuited to trade at St. Peters, I have enclosed a Copy of the Invoice which accompanied your letter to Governor Cass and instructed him, if any, or all of the articles can be usefully disposed of in the Indian Department within his superintendency to take the whole or any part of them provided the cost of the goods and the expense of transportation to the points where they may be wanted will not be greater than if obtained at Detroit, or elsewhere. You will accordingly instruct the Factor to comply with the Governor's order, upon the subject, in case he should think fit to take any of the articles. I have etc.

J. C. C[alhoun]

---

[70] Maj. John Biddle was the Indian agent at Green Bay for two years, 1821–22. The remainder of his career was connected with Detroit, where he was a prominent citizen, being mayor for 1827–28, territorial delegate 1829–31, and register of federal land office 1823–37. For an account of his army services and political honors, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 391, note.—Ed.

1821: A TRADER'S LICENSE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 55B74.]

INDIAN AGENCY GREEN BAY Oct. 15th, 1821

To all whom it may concern know ye that

Louis Grignon citizen of the United States having given the bonds required by law & by the instructions of the President is hereby authorized to trade with the Indians on the Fox & Ouisconsin rivers & their tributaries until the 1st day of October in the Year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred & twenty-two unless this license be sooner revoked.

JOHN BIDDLE
Indian Agent.

Descriptive List of Persons destined for the Indian Country on the Ouisconsin, Fox River & its dependencies & on the Waters of the Mississippi in the employ of Louis Grignon under License granted to the Said Louis Grignon, Viz—

No.	Name	Capacity	Description.
1	Joseph Dugé	Boatman	Five feet 5 inches Brown Eyes & hair light & light Complexion
2	Louis Mishlen	do do	Five feet 9 ditto Grey do & brown hair & dark Complexion
3	Jean B. Marson	do do	Five feet 9 ditto Brown do & dark do & dark Complexion
4	Alexis Larose	do do	Five feet 10 do black do & black do & dark do
5	Michel Le Clair	do do	Five feet 10 do brown do light light do
6	Bennereaux	do	Five feet 6 do do do do dark do
7	Joseph Bouche	do	Five feet 8 do do do do do do

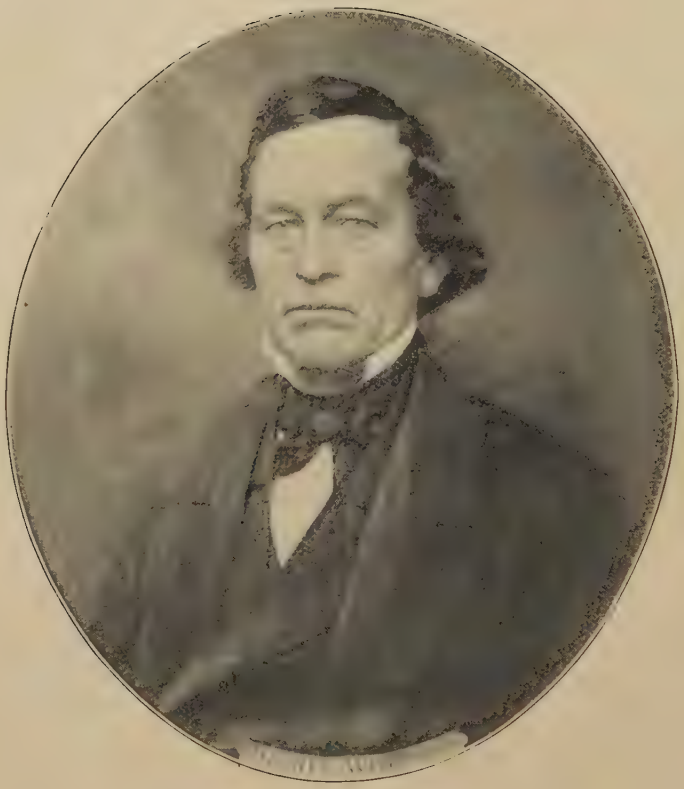
L. GRIGNON.

1821: WINTERING ARRANGEMENTS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C108.]

G. BAY 22nd Oct 1821

DEAR SIR—Your Favour of the 28th Ultimo came to hand the 18th Inst & I was very happy to hear from you As for the Account you left with me I have sent a Copy on to Mr. Devotion expecting to find him at the Prairie as Joe Brisbois



Daniel Whitney (1795–1862)

From oil portrait in possession of the Society

had come here the 3d Inst. & had left the Prairie the 21st last Month & Mr. Devotion had not come down from the River St Peters yet at that time & I wrote to him Inclosing my acct. Current & letting him know the objections I had to some part of the account that you presented me which I hope to have an answer by the return of Mr. Dan Whitney[71] merchant of this place who has gone on with a heavy Boat Load of Dry Goods & Groceries to the Prarie Du Chien to try & dispose of them for ready Cash or will leave them there to be sold in the course of the winter Michael Dousman has two heavy Boat Loads of Groceries & dry Goods gone on to the Prarie to dispose of these in the course of the winter there so you see that the Prarie people will have a good deal of Opposition there this year.

Augustin Grignon has gone off to go & winter up the Mississippi with the Folleavoines & I suppose the Factor Mr. Johnson [of Prairie du Chien] who left this in a light Canoe the 13 Ins. will have more outfits this year about than he ever had As it appears this is the last year as I have understood for the Factory as the Factor we have here Major Irwin has sent out Goods in every quarter where we send so you see the opposition is Strong in every part of this place. the Mississippi has much less as for any other news there is none worth your attention from this Quarter everything is very dull at present

---

[71] Daniel Whitney was born in New Hampshire in 1795, and visited Green Bay at the beginning of American occupation in 1816 to look over the prospects of the new country. In 1819 he returned with a stock of goods and opened a store at Green Bay. For many years he was the most enterprising and active promoter in Wisconsin. He founded the lumbering industry on the upper Wisconsin River; built the shot-tower at old Helena; laid out town sites, and carried on numerous enterprises in all portions of the State, giving employment to many men, transportation facilities, etc. Whitney was averse to holding public office, and attended only to his private enterprises. At Green Bay he laid out the site of Navarino, where he lived until his death (Nov. 4, 1862). He was a vestryman of the Episcopal church, and benevolent in his disposition and habits. For a more detailed sketch, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 274, note 3.—Ed.

If In case Mr. Devotion should have left the Prarie before he receives my Letter I will write you by the next oppor^y or pay by the Express I Inclose you the Accounts you require according to your desire I would at present but if he has recd my Letter he would find it Strange of me to send through you the same thing it has been a great disappoint[ment] to me in not having the bateau money pd into the hands of Mr Rolette Joe Brisbois came here with two Boats for to get Mr Rolette's Property I had forgot to mention it in the Commencement of my Letter. I told Mr. Grignon what you mentioned about the Books. the Misses Grignon desire their best respect to you Wishing you every prosperity with my best respect I am Dr Sir your Servant.

J. Lawe

Mr. Wm. Belcher Detroit

Excuse my Scrawl in haste Mr. Louis Grignon left the bay to go & winter on the ouisconsin.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B65. Translated from the French.]

Grand Cagauing [Kaukauna] 22 October 1821

Dear Lawe—I was too hurried at the last to take Time to go and see you at the time of My Departure. I beg you to keep me informed of what happens at my home as you have opportunity. I told Mr. Chalifoux[72] to advise you when he needs anything for the House. As for Jacobs and his School I leave it all to you, but at the same time note that the price of $2.00 is too high, & $1.50 should be enough.[73] Wishing you & your family health & prosperity Your sincere

L. Grignon

---

[72] Pierre Chalifoux was a French Canadian, who for some years lived neighbor to Louis Grignon. In 1816 he was constable of the Green Bay neighborhood.—Ed.

[73] For documents concerning the school conducted by John B. Jacobs, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 454–457.—Ed.

I enclose a letter addressed to Mr. G. Richards[74] which you will oblige me by handing to Mr. Biddle or some one else and seal it. L. G.

Addressed: Mr. John Lawe Green Bay

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B66,69. Translated from the French.]

Butte des Morts 25 October, 1821

Dear Sir—I leave here today if the wind permits, it is strong just now, perhaps because it is veering.

I think that you have forgotten to send our Credits to Mr. P. Grignon's. I must have them I think, particularly to secure our Traps and guns which I see about me without Authority from you to take them.

Although there was no reply from our Agent, I beg you to use your best Effort to have prepared the old Accounts in order to settle them in the Course of next January. When I see you will be Time to [word illegible] Circumstances permitting.

I leave Jacobs to you in regard to his proposition for the School. I do not recall whether I wrote you of this from Cakaling but I think so, and forgot to recommend to Mr. Chalifoux to attend to it, leaving it to you to furnish him the means on my Account

I leave As a man Entirely deprived of present and future Hope of Contentment. I rely entirely on you in the business of collecting & securing as much as possible.

If provisions are needed at my house I Told Catiche to apply to you to obtain them on my Account at Mr. Whillen's [Whelan] two barrels of flour and a Barrel of Pork that I advised her to get, this last Article immediately.

I wrote to Mr. Pierre [Grignon] what I have heard in these Parts, I refer you to him in this regard I do not think that I am in Hell, but at the gate thereof. Troubles on every side,

---

[74] For a sketch of this priest, see *Id*, xviii, p. 502, note 40.—Ed.

the Savages do not hunt and Every Individual tries to do his worst Against our Interest.

My regards to your family, wishing you health and Prosperity dear Sir Your Sincere

L. Grignon

I outfit for a Commission Hïonapàs [?] for the People of Fond du Lac. The People of the Lac des Boeuf[75] are here & Camping with the Savages

Addressed: John Lawe Esquire Green Bay

Village of Wacquan 28 October 1821

Dear Sir—I enclose a Letter to Mr. Lecuyer[76] you will oblige me by letting him know of it I can not get any idea of the Time you will receive it As I have no opportunity of sending.

Last night two Barrels of Powder got wet this Morning I believed they were Entirely lost, but God allowed the recovery of one Barrel Damaged & Good. I was obliged to send to Charles for several livres of it which I have received.

by the same Opportunity I am informed that the Children of Woinisatte have taken fresh Credit from the Americans according to my idea I believe that the greater part of that Band are not worth much. Nothing new to tell you of, I am tired every day. I have worked for the Powder, at the Barge and keeping Watch. That all may be well with you Sincerely Your Obedient Servant L. Grignon

N. B. You will oblige me by saying to Catiche not to sell nor exchange nor give any salt nor Cherries except in Secret. Compliments to your family & our friends

If they need any Apples at the house, do me the favor to procure One or two Barrels and tell Catiche to Save a Half

---

[75] Buffalo Lake, for which see *ante*, p. 188, note 46.—Ed.

[76] One of the sons of Jean Lecuyer, an early settler at the Fox-Wisconsin portage. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, pp. 287, 289.—Ed.

for me. Recommend her also to have Repaired my Spokes [to wheels].

Addressed: John Lawe Esquire Green Bay

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B70.]

Prairie du Chien 29 Oct 1821

Sir—Enclosed I send to your care a letter for M^r^ Irwin which I omitted to leave with him at the Bay. Please give it to him.

The Indians who Engaged to work my canoe to the Portage left me at the Winebago lake: the old *Captain* said it was getting too cold & refused to go any further. I informed them unless they would comply with their contract I would not pay them, if they did not wish to come on themselves to get other Indians. even that, they did not think themselves bound to do, so we parted. I soon after hired others who assisted me to get my canoe to the portage where I obtained others who brought me here I mention this, so you can state to them the reason of my not paying them.

The Boy who was hired to assist working the canoe over the Rappids, I paid him three dollars when we got over them. while they remained with me they worked well and performed the purpose well for which I hired them & felt sorry they could not or would not comply with their contract I am Sir your Hb^l^ Serv^t^ Jno W. Johnson

Mr John Lawe Green Bay

M^r^ Greno [Augustin Grignon] left here yeasterday for the upper Mississippi

---

[Source, same as preceding document, but 9B79.]

Green Bay 5th November 1821

Dear Sir—I take this opportunity of dropping you a few lines by M^r^ Dowsman & Stewart who is on their route to the Prairie du Chien I received two Letters from you, one from the Caucaulen & the other from the Bute de Mort in regard of

what you mention about the School for Jacobs I did not say much to him on the Subject as I thought it would be better for him as for ourselves that he would keep School across the River so he can have a large number of Scholars Say 30 from the people their so that it would be more advantageous to him & at the same time we were not prepared The house required to be repaired &c &c and only our two houses to support him having no other Scholars. Mr. Chalifoux is doing his utmost to fix your things about your house which I hope and am sure he will do every thing to try & work for your Interest & I will assist in giving him every advice to the best of my Judgement for your Interest There has been two Arrivals Since you left this the Jackson & Decateur Since you left this with two more officers that came passengers & Mr Blodget has come back here.

The House of Mack & Conant has failed at Detroit so it is very injurious to that place as they done a great deal of business & at the same time done a great deal of Good to that part of the Country as they had a number of people employed &c &c. Your Brother Baptist[77] is engaged to go to winter at the Follevoine we have but a few Goods to give him I believe we may give up all hopes of receiving any Goods from Crooks, this Fall as their is no appearance of any thing coming so far which will be a great injury to us. nothing more worth your attention from this quarter in haste I will write you more fully by the next opportunity your Family is all well & hearty & they join their best love to you. Catish said if you write her again not to direct her Letter to Jacobs to read as he cannot explain to her as it is wrote your son George[78]

---

[77] For Jean Baptiste Grignon, see *Id*, xix, p. 91.—Ed.

[78] George Grignon, son of Louis, served in the Stambaugh expedition of 1832. In 1838 he was living at Green Bay (see Wisconsin MSS., 59B67); but before 1845 had removed to Little Chute, now a part of the city of Appleton, of which he is said to have been the first settler. At his house the first Roman Catholic service in the place was held by the Rev. Father Samuel Mazzuchelli; and it was also a place of entertainment for early travellers through the coun-

I suppose is at Detroit before this time he got down in two days from here to Mackinac & I believe he will be well taken care off by Major Biddle as he appeared to pay a good deal of attention to him Major Biddle gave me a receipt for the Money I gave him for you I would not take it but he insisted upon it. the Letter you sent for Mr Richard he received & takes [Ms stained] The Indians make a very poor hunt about here this year about my Credits you know the Indians & Charles has got the Copy of them which I suppose he showed you there the Boat is not yet [arrived] from above say Mr Porlier's I made Credit to [MS. torn] and the band of Solil again I will finish and Hope to hear from you soon wishing you health & prosperity & Believe me to be yours truly JOHN LAWE

My Little David has been very Sick with the pleurisy but he has got better You would have a fine opportunity to write to your Brother Amable by Mr M. Dowsman as he is a going to the red River. yours J. L.

Addressed: Mr. Louis Grignon Portage de Ouisconsin pr favor of Mr. M. Dousman

---

1821: LIQUOR FORBIDDEN

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 184.]

DEPMT OF WAR 6 Novr. 1821.

Thos. Forsyth[79] *Esqr. Indian Agent Fort Armstrong*

SIR—Your letter of the 26th Septr. has been received. The

---

try. George Grignon and his wife Mary had two sons: Alexander, married in 1857 (Wisconsin MSS., 51B62), who lived in Appleton for many years; and Bernard, who was in the Union army during the War of Secession, and died therein.—ED.

[79] Maj. Thomas Forsyth was born in Detroit in 1771. He early entered the fur-trade, wintering in different years at Saginaw and on the Mississippi near Quincy, Ill. In 1802 he formed a partnership with his half-brother John Kinzie, to enter the fur-trade in Illinois, he being stationed at Peoria and Kinzie at Chicago. In April, 1812, Forsyth

appointment of a Sub-Agent at Fort Edwards[80] for the Ioways, and another at the Lead Mines for the Fox Indians, as you suggest, I have no doubt would be advantageous both for the Indians and the government; but, the reduced appropriation for the Indian Department will not allow any new expenses to be incurred at present. If, however, the appropriation should be increased at the next session of Congress, which I think probable, your suggestion will then receive attention.

I certainly agree with you that it would be better for the Indians to concentrate the population of their respective tribes, as the authority of the chiefs could then be more easily and with greater effect exercised over them, than while inhabiting detached and distant villages; and if they can be induced to do so, by the advice and influence of the agent, it would be considered as an important point gained.

---

was made sub-agent of Indian affairs, and throughout the War of 1812–15 was useful in furnishing information to the federal government, and protecting the settlements. He rescued Lieut. Linai Helm from captivity, after the Chicago massacre, and kept the Potawatomi neutral. See his correspondence during that period in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 316–355. After the War, Forsyth continued to serve as sub-agent until 1819, when he was promoted to a full agency and stationed at Fort Armstrong in charge of the Sauk and Foxes. In this position he continued until 1830, when he was replaced by Felix St. Vrain. Forsyth then retired to St. Louis, where he died Oct. 29, 1833. For further details of his biography, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 188. Many of his letters and papers were secured by Dr. Draper for this Society.—Ed.

[80] Fort Edwards was begun in June, 1816, on a bluff of the Mississippi River opposite the mouth of Des Moines River, fronting the present city of Keokuk, Iowa. A previous fort had been built in 1814, some half mile farther down stream, known as Fort Johnson; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 387, note 37. Both of these sites were within the limits of the present town of Warsaw, Hancock County, Ill. Fort Edwards was completed in 1817 and named for Ninian Edwards, governor of Illinois Territory. For a contemporary description of the site of Fort Edwards and its appearance, see "Long's Voyage to St. Anthony Falls," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 77, 78. A factory was established at this place in 1818; and the garrison maintained until 1824, when it was withdrawn, the country being then sufficiently settled to render this protection needless.—Ed.

The Sauk and Fox Indians now residing near Fort Edwards it is hoped will move from thence agreeably to the wishes of their chiefs and the advice you have given them to the principal village of their tribes, but if they do not, the Department cannot interfere, in the way you propose, to force them to it.

The complaint which you make with respect to the introduction of Whiskey among the Indians, can be remedied only by the vigilance and activity of the Agent, and a prompt execution of the law of intercourse. The only delay that can place in the execution of the law, will be in the prosecution of offenders, as "all the merchandise" (by which term the article of Whiskey is included as well as any others) found in their possession becomes forfeited the moment it passes the Indian boundary line, and may be seized by the Agent as soon as he is informed of the fact. A rigid discharge of this duty, in which you will be aided by the Commanding Officer at Fort Armstrong, who has been instructed to that effect, it is confidently believed will produce a proper respect for the authority of the Agent, and effectually prevent the introduction of Whiskey among the Indians, by the Whites.

I have deferred giving you any instructions in relation to licenses to trade with the Indians until the Spring as it is probable some change may be made, by Congress, in the present system of Indian Trade, in the course of the ensuing session.

You will furnish the estimate required by the letter to you from this Department of the 21st August last, of the number of flags and Medals that will be necessary to take up the British flags and Medals in the possession of the Indian Chiefs within your Agency, and they will be forwarded to you in the Spring with the annuities. You will transmit the estimate of the cost of a suitable house for the accommodation of the agent, to be built without the aid of the military; upon the receipt of which further orders will be given to you upon the subject.

The Department has no knowledge of any treaty conveying

the lands to which the Sauk and Fox Chiefs refer; but as it is probable that Governor Clark of St. Louis from his long services in the Indian Department may have acquired some information on this subject, I have referred it to him, for his report, to enable me to answer the letter of the Chiefs satisfactorily. I have etc. J. C. C[ALHOUN]

1821: PROCEEDS OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN FACTORY

[Source, same as preceding document, but pp. 270, 272.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE GEORGE TOWN November 6th. 1821

To James Kennerly Esquire Saint Louis

SIR—I enclose you a list of furs etc. which it appears are yet at St. Louis. This is in violation of my directions. By this retention the Office must suffer. The advertisements are out including these articles. This course is highly disapproved. I shall know the prices they would bring on the 12th. instant, when I will make out a bill of those yet behind, deduct the cost of transportation and draw on you for the amount.

Very respectfully etc.

T L Mc.K[ENNY] *S. I. T.*

List of articles alluded to in the above letter

No. 56	Pack	125	Raccon	Skins	
" 57	"	125	"	"	
" 58	"	125	"	"	625 skins
" 64	"	125	"	"	
" 65	"	125	"	"	
" 68	"	500	Muskrats	do.	
" 69	"	500	"	"	
" 70	"	500	"	"	
No. 72	"	500	"	"	2500 skins first quality
" 73	"	500	"	"	
" 85	"	80	Wolk	Skins	

18 Bags of feathers containing 2360 lb.
214 Indian Matts.

All these articles were from the Prairie du Chien Factory, see Invoice of June 1821

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE GEORGE TOWN Novemr. 19th. 1821

James Kennerly Esquire Saint Louis.

SIR—Referring you to my letter of the 6th instant I now enclose you the bill for sundry Articles furs etc. which were detained by you, with the prices annexed. The Certificate of the Auctioneer is attached to the Bill. The balance after deducting the price of transportation is three thousand five hundred and ninety seven dollars and eleven cents, for which I have drawn upon you at thirty days. Respectfully etc.

T L McK[ENNEY] *S. I. T.*

1821

For 625 Racoon skins contained in Packs Nos. 56, 57, 58, 64 and 65 P. du chien Invoice 16th. June 1821 at 80c.....	$500.00
2,500 Muskrat skins in Packs Nos. 68, 69, 70, 72, 73 from P. du Chien per same Invoice at 55c.....	1,375.00
80 Wolf skins in Pack No. 85 from P. du Chien same Invoice 30c	24.00
2360 lb. Feathers from P. du Chien same Invoice at 50c....	1,180.00
214 Mats from P. du Chien same Invoice cost.....	419.50
81 lb. Beaver from Osage Invoice of 10th. June 1821 at 305c	247.05
66 lb. Deer Skins used as Wrappers for 11 bales—from P. du Chien at 20c per lb.....	13.20
Deduct for the transportation of the foregoing.....	$3,758.75
articles estimated to weigh 4041 lb. at 4 cts. pr. lb.....	161.64
	$3,597.11

GEORGE TOWN Novemr. 19th. 1821.

I hereby certify that at the sale of Furs and Peltries held at the Warehouse of the Supt. Indian Trade, the following is the average price of the Articles annexed taking the medium of such as were sold the 12th. Instant.

P. du Chien Racoon skins average 80 cents each
" " " Muskrat..... 55 " "
Osage Beaver per lb..... 3.05

EDWARD DAVIS *Auctr.*

1821: WORD FROM GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 9B23. Translated from the French.]

La Bay the 8th of Nov. 1821

Dear Augustin—I profit by the Opportunity of a boat of Mr. Woittenee [Whitney] which is going to Preri du chien to give you the News Baptist left yesterday for the folles with an Assortment which I believe I reported to you. may God be pleased to Guarantee our Poor credits [phrase undecipherable]

I am about to take a Full inventory of our Goods that are left and as soon as that is finished go and rejoin Paulitte to care for the matters that I believe demand my presence I shall do my best, be assured. We have no other News of Mr. Crooks in Response to the memoir, my patience will perhaps endure a few days' longer trial in the matter of my duty for G. B. [Green Bay Company] I received News of Our Louis who has just Reached the Portage and who has sent me 2 Barrels of Powder in Beaupree's boat &c., but I will send it back to Charles in order to Replace what Louis took from him. To come back to our brother Louis I cannot avoid Remarking on his Conduct. I believe that Beaupree had much Trouble in arriving at his destination. Business has suffered by the Delay and the Returns of the Savages probably, also doubtless by the lack of ammunition. I much fear it will prove a bad venture. I have been informed that the Oxen of the Wisconsin Portage have been Lost or killed since they were Lent to Pass the Barge of Brisbois, this is what Monsieur Woittenee's people tell me. This is bad for our People there and is what happens when there is no responsible person in charge.

I presented to Monsieur dousemane the note drawn on him for the trade of Roy He told me he had not His Books and that he would arrange for it with you. I believe that he will Bargain and try to [phrase undecipherable] until the Spring All the Family are as I have told you, and all wish you Good

Health. I hope that your Savages will make a Good Hunt this fall. I also hope, dear Augus, that God will be your helper and give both you and the family Good health. Believe me with all the esteem and consideration possible, awaiting the pleasure of seeing you again in the Spring with Much Satisfaction he who will be always your affectionate and sincere brother & friend P. GRIGNON

Our friend Fily & [word illegible] porlier and Chalifoux wish you Good Day.

Addressed: Monsieur Augus. Grignon Trader Recommended to Monsieur Michel brisbois at the Preri praying him to forward

---

1821: GREEN BAY FACTOR

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 277.]

OFFICE INDIAN TRADE NOV: 20, 1821.

Mathew Irwin Esqr. Green Bay

SIR—Yours of the 6 Ulto. enclosing your returns has just been received. When these returns shall have been examined, they will be reported upon.

I approve of the outfits you have furnished to Mr. Morrell, and Mr. View, especially to the latter, as the condition of the Indians would have involved some suffering but for the course you have taken to supply them.[81] The only difficulty is that which may arise out of the exorbitant demands which they may have imposed on them by those to whom you render these facilities. I hope they have enough of justice, in them, however to ensure a different result.

I am glad that, *at last,* a whiskey vender has been detected —I mean *acted* upon for I judge they are often detected, but seldom made to suffer for their doings.

---

[81] Nothing is known of the first of these two men mentioned; the latter is Jacques Vieau, whose trade at Milwaukee, begun in 1795, is mentioned *ante*.—ED.

Something may occur, (and the continuance and enlargement of our trade will imply that something) during the approaching session of Congress which may enable me to retain your services. You will, meanwhile, proceed with the fulfilment of my several instructions, and especially in winding up and settleing the concerns of the factory, including the debts which appear to stand now at nearly 6000. Dollars.

T. L. McK[enny]

1821: AUGUSTIN GRIGNON ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

[MSS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmarks: Wisconsin MSS., 9B91, 95.]

Desembr 3d 1821 Praroy Dechane

Dear Sir—I Rote you by the indian which I hope you have Received In Case not, We arivd here on forth Day from the porteg with a very Severe Snow Storm two days after our arival aboat from Sant Louis arivd here with the Greatest Difficulty Ewing to the Drifting Ice at which time the Entrence of the Wisconsin was Completely Stopt mr Stewerd Left here the Sixth Day after our arival in a Wooden Conoe and with much difficulty on account of the Ise Every aperens of Winter Being Completely Set In there has ben achang in the wether Sins and I verely belive that I could have made the Trip to the Porteg not with Stonding Rolets Men on there Return was oblegd to Leve thir Conoo I herd from your Brouther Agust by a Return Boat Loded By M[r] Sulor[82] on his way to Sont Peters the Boat [of Augustin Grignon] was

[82] Antoine Pierre Soulard was born in Rochefort, France, in 1766, and served for some time in the French navy. During the French Revolution he came to America, and was in 1794 appointed king's surveyor at St. Louis, which position he held throughout the Spanish regime. He married a daughter of Gabriel Cerré, and died at his home below St. Louis in 1825. This document would show that either he or his son was a Mississippi River trader.—Ed.

taken in the ise Sum Days previos to our arival Left Part of her Lading at his wintering & some of Rolets the Place is River Du aumbero[83] Said to be above the Mountain which Tromps in the Wotter [Mt. Trempealeau] I Sum Littell Expect to Goe to Sont Peters my Self when the Ise will admit as I Have Contracted to furnish Tems [teams] for the Transportation and I will Have the [Ms. torn] of Seing him. I Rote you the Situation of the Red river Settelment. R Dickson by M[r] Boleys Letter to Rollet States that Dickson will Sertenley be here this winter if Sew and the Prospects not favourable I Shol Goe now further my Goods Cum from St Louis four Pieses of Stroud and very well Sorted I am alltogether undetermined whether to wate the opening of the Novigation or Send Frans to the Porteg be it as It may Should I send Frans Rest asurd that I will Send the flour and Led.

Pouder here Is a very Scarce article The Factory has none the Bare[r] of this or in outher words Decorey[84] the Indian

---

[83] This was the River au Embarrass, now shortened to Zumbro, that enters the Mississippi at Minneiska, Minn. The trading post was near Wabasha's village, on the site of the modern Winona. One old settler mentions the remains of a stone chimney and some blackened, burnt logs seen on a bluff "about four miles below the mouth of the White Water" (which mouths with the Zumbro); see *History of Winona and Olmsted Counties* (Chicago, 1883), pp. 146, 147. The post is reputed to have been one of those founded by Francis La Bathe, but it seems probable from this letter of Dousman and the subsequent events, that it was the ruin of Augustin Grignon's post, burned by the Sioux in the winter of 1821–22. See *post*.—Ed.

[84] The Decorahs were one of the most prominent of Winnebago families. Its members were descendants of the French officer Des Caris and the Indian chieftess Hopokoekaw, or "Glory of the Morning." The elder, or Spoon Decorah, head-chief of the tribe, who served in the War of 1812–15 in the ranks of the British, had died previous to the writing of this letter. Reference must be made, therefore, to one of his sons. Schachipkaka, or the War Eagle, known to the whites as Konokah Decorah, was the eldest and most prominent of the family. His village was located on Baraboo River, not far from

which Brought Rolets Horses will [give you] 5 Muskrats Plese to Resev [them] Should any of [you] Coe [go] to the Bay indiver To Git Couvenon to Cum have the Goodness to Remember me to my frends at the Bay Plese Don't fail In Riting me I Remane Your Most Obedent Servant

MICHAEL DOUSMAN

Addressed: Mr Louis Grignon Porteg Wisconsin 3d Decbm by [Decorey]

PRAREY DE CHANE Decembr 22d 1821

DEAR SIR—In Ritting Before I omited in Request that you would be pertickeler In Driving Sum few Hoops which I Discoverd Started on the Highwins and Pay atention that the Barels wont Leack as they will Probely Run During the Winter pertickeler the Spirits as It is of a Superior quality. It is more than Probibell those two tranes will Bring Ech one Barell Say—one of Salt the outher of Sperets. This opertunity Will be agood one for you to Rite to Robert Steward at Mackinac I am Informed by Sulord whom was present when the Indians ordid Your Brouther Agust Down that they Cum very Near murdering him and It Is Generaly Suposed that Lefy [La Feuille][85] was flewanst [influenced] by a Littell man of this Plase In a few Days I Leve this for St. Peters and Will Stop at Ougust Hous[86] Remember me to all inquiring

---

the present town of that name. During the Winnebago War of 1827, Konokah Decorah was seized and held as a hostage at Fort Crawford for the delivery of the real murderers. It was at that time that his release on parole and his scrupulous observance thereof gave him credit in the eyes of the whites as the soul of honor; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 153–155. His death occurred at his village in 1836; before his decease he was baptized by a Catholic priest.—ED.

[85]The French name for Wabasha, the great Sioux chief.—ED.

[86]The second location to which Augustin Grignon removed after his first trading post had been burned by the Sioux, was twenty-five miles lower down, somewhere near the mouth of Black River. The present delta of the Black has shifted within recent times; about the time of this document the main channel was some twelve miles above the site of La Crosse, at what is now Hammond's Chute.—ED.

frends I Remain Your Most Obed Servant

MICHAEL DOUSMAN

Addressed: Mr. Louis Gregnon Porteg Wisconsin by Mr Whitney

1821: CENSUS OF TRIBESMEN

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41. Letter Book 3. Cass to Calhoun.]

DETROIT, Dec. 27, 1821.

* * * * * * * *

A census which was carefully taken by the respective Agents in 1819 gave the following results.

Chicago	Males	854
	Females	825
	Children	823
	Total	2502

To these must be added the number then within the Agency of Mr. Graham[87] in the state of Illinois and since annexed to the Chicago Agency. They were estimated by Mr. Graham as follows.

Potawatomies and Chippewas	4,684
Sacs and Foxes	1,000
Kickapoos	400
Winnebagoes	250
Total	6,334

Making the whole amount within the Chicago Agency 8,836.

Green Bay—The number of Warriors only are estimated.

Menominies	500
Winnebagoes	800
Chippewas, Ottawas	
Potawatomies and Sac	300
Total	1,600

[87] For Richard Graham, Indian agent, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 424, note 62.—ED.

Multiplying this number by three will give 4800 for the whole number within the Agency.

Michillimackinac—Number of Warriors	1,479
Number of Souls	5,717

* * * * * * * *

On the East side of the Mississippi, and within the Agencies of Mr. Boilvin and Mr. Forsyth the numbers were estimated as follows.

	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Sioux—	360	432	210	180	1,182
Winnebagoes—	250	260	150	140	800
Fals Avoines—	160	210	60	60	490
Sacs—	850	1,225	818	954	3,847
Foxes—	760	845	743	854	3,202
					9,521

A census was at the same time taken of the Indians within the Detroit Agency, which comprehends nearly the whole of the Peninsula of Michigan, but excludes the St. Josephs, the L'Arbre Croche and the Thunder Bay Indians. The number was estimated to exceed 8000, but the return cannot now be found, so as to give a detailed view of the subject.

The following recapitulation exhibits the result of the whole enumeration.

Chicago	8,836	
Green Bay	4,800	
Michillimackinac	5,717	
Fort Wayne	2,511	(With the addition of the Indians in the Vincennes Agency)
Piqua	3,913	(From which must be subtracted the Delawares, most of whom have migrated to the west side of the Missouri)
Within this Territory and attached to other Agencies)	9,521	
Within this peninsula	8,000	
Making an Aggregate of	43,398	

1822: THE GREEN BAY COMPANY TO AID AUGUSTIN GRIGNON

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 10B4. Translated from the French.]

La Bay, 6 January, 1822.

Messrs—I am transmitting to you the Letter of Aug[t] and of others relating thereto; we should consider that our property has been, and perhaps is yet in danger as well as his life, that of his Family and his people.[88] Thence it must Result that Business will suffer, therefore if we do not enter upon some plan for the necessary relief we will be Regarded as careless. Thus it is proper that we should Consult together to know what to Determine, and whether it is Necessary that one of us should go there, or write him our Decision, with the Necessary Advice how to proceed. Messrs., Your very humble Servant,

P. Grignon & Co.

J. Porlier, J. Lawe, L. Grignon, Esqrs. Presents

Endorsed [by Lawe]: Letter from P. Grignon, 6th Jany. 1822, Green Bay. no answer.

1822: CONGRESS INVESTIGATES FACTORY SYSTEM

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 312.]

Off: Indian trade, Jany. 22d: 1822

John W. Johnson Esq P. du Chien

Sir—I have received your two letters of 26 Octr. and 22d. Novr. Your remarks about the quality of the goods are no doubt correct. But it may be well to bear in mind that of those which you report upon as being unsuited the larger part were sent you when no other kinds could be got. As to the

[88] For a full account of the difficulties that Augustin Grignon met at his upper Mississippi post during the winter of 1821–22, see subsequent letters, especially that of Jacques Porlier to Governor Cass, June 8, 1822, *post*, pp. 257–260.—Ed.

moths eating up the Blankets etc., I trust you will not permit that ravage to be made, as occasional beating etc., thro' the warm season will preserve them should the business be continued, I will rid you of the goods you refer to; but hope meanwhile you will keep them *sound.* You must look to the debts. Their amount must be reduced. I fear losses, and I do not wish an extension of trade thro' private traders from the Factories. We can ill afford to bear losses, yet it seems, part of the money of the west has fallen into your hands. I hope however you will be able to get something for it.

I shall wait the result of the Congressional decision before I move in the business respecting the Fur companies claim to the building. We *may not want them.* Yet I do not think the factory system will be broken up.[89]

I don't know how it is, I wrote to New York which is said to be the great Indian market, and my agent there is unable to find either strouding or Blankets of the kinds suited to your

---

[89] At the second session of the sixteenth Congress a decided hostility to the factory system was developed; but the time before its expiration (March 4, 1821) was too brief to complete the work begun in February by a resolution for the committee on Indian affairs to prepare a bill for the abolition of the system. See 16th Cong., 2 sess., *Annals,* p. 1227. The seventeenth Congress took up the work, and at its request Colonel McKenney prepared a statement of the advantages of the system—*Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, pp. 260–265. The committee on Indian affairs, headed by Thomas Hart Benton, was strongly opposed to the system, and on March 25, 1822, the latter opened the debate in the Senate with the statement that: "The factory system grew out of a national calamity and has been one itself." He arraigned the entire system, covered it with ridicule, stigmatized its factors, and cited the testimony of Ramsay Crooks in opposition—see 17th Cong., 1st sess., *Annals*, pp. 317–331. Other senators followed Benton, vindicating the character and integrity of the superintendent and factors, but all opposing the system—see testimony before committee, in *Amer. St. Papers, Indian Affs.*, ii, pp. 326–332. The bill to abolish the system passed the Senate, May 2. The debate in the House turned on other issues than the merits of the system, but the bill promptly went through May 4, and was approved May 6, 1822. For McKenney's reply to Benton's aspersions, see *Ibid*, pp. 534–357.—Ed.

trade. If Mr. Bouthillier can get his goods so much lower and better suited at Mackinac, it is best for the Indians as well as himself that he do so. I am not friendly, except in particular cases and to particular persons, to the practise of issuing outfits from the factories.

I can hardly think your remarks respecting the unsuitableness of your supplies can have application to the last 2 or 3 years. I never saw better strouds, or better Blankets than the most of those you have received from this office within that time.

If the system be continued what you call for in yours of the 22d. of Novr. shall be forwarded.

I shall be gratified to aid you if I can in the appointment of Indian agent But every thing respecting our Indian affairs is going through an examination by the Congress, and it may result in having no agencies at all, as some think will be best.

T. L. McK[enney]

1822: CONDOLENCE FOR AUGUSTIN GRIGNON

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 10B11. Translated from the French.]

Cacalin, 29 January, 1822

Monsieur Agt. Grignon

Dear Uncle—As you said to me before your departure for the messisepie that you should be glad to have me write you, I give myself true pleasure and especial honor in carrying out your request, as much to present to you my very humble duty as to give you certain proofs of the high esteem I have for your dear self. I do not know whether the season has been as unpleasant in that country as here. We have heard of the disagreeable event that has happened to you of the severe treatment and annoyances that you as well as my little cousins and my

poor aunt Macree[90] have suffered by means of the Siout who have Burned your house according to the report we have had by a man arriving from the river st pier who says that the siou have plundered you; you will please excuse one who [regards] you more than himself. I am hurried and will write you more fully by another opportunity. This does not hinder me however, from recognizing what I owe you, if you think I can be useful or render you any service, Count on me, now as always. Robert who is here charges me to give you his profound respects. All the family are well except My Grandmother who is as usual. Your very humble and very obedient Servant and nephew,

BERNARD GRIGNON.

Addressed. Monsieur Augt. Grignon merchant at the Messicepie, favored by Mr. Louis Grignon.

1822: FACTORY GOODS TRANSFERRED

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 317.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE Feby. 4, 1822

To Jacob. B. Varnum Esq and Mathew Irwin Esq

SIR—Govr. Cass having agreed to take all the Merchandise in your factory unsuited to the trade on the St. Peters, you will immediately lay off and Invoice the same and send by the first conveyance to Detroit one copy to Govr. Cass and another to this office, the Merchandize you will hold in your possession subject to the orders of Gov: Cass.

T. L. McK[ENNEY]

---

[90] Augustin Grignon's wife was Nancy McCrea; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iii, p. 196. At the time this letter was written their children were all young. It is an instance of the wintering customs of many of the French-Canadian traders, who took with them their wives and children into the Indian country.—ED.

1822: VIOLENCE ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 10B20. Translated from the French.]

La Prairie Du Chien, 19 Feb., 1822.

Dear Auguste—I received your Letter of the 17th of January which came to me the 7th of the present month on my return from La Baye to the Portage which apprised me of your losses. I immediately sent a Copy of your Letter to Pierre whom I left in good health as well as all the Family with the exception of our Dear Mama & Mr. Langevin who are in the same condition as usual. They embrace you and all your family and much regret your Trouble.

At the time that I was at La Bay it was Reported that your store had been Plundered and your house Burned, which was the occasion of my voyage hither, either to tell you to send those Messieurs down here, or if best, to send someone to you. Inclosed is the Copy of the Invoice of the goods. I think that you can not sell what you have left here; bring the goods to the Bay especially [word illegible]. They tell me that the Renards will come this spring with Much Peltry to Trade with you. I have Sent them a present of some tobacco by Kiwoitchitte. He has left 10 skins at Mr. Brisbois's for you. As to what you say to me to be careful in the matter of Liquor, I have no Fear, for I have neither sold nor given any Except to the French, there are too serious consequences involved to run any risks. In regard to Mr. Rolette's passing himself off for the agent of the Company, He told me that himself but I think that several motives obliged him to own up. Try and Discover as much as Possible but do not inform Against him as that will harm the Company rather than injure him. It is better to let others do it without compromising ourselves.

I have spoken with the Agent Several times. He is very reserved, but if you Could prove who has set on the Savages against you without involving anybody [it would be well]. Be very careful for one must regard As a sworn Enemy of the

Laws or rather The instruction of the President he [who acts thus]. We have no Rights since we are Foreigners, although we have given bonds for [the privilege of] selling Merchandize; but all those who have not taken the Oath are Foreigners, if we do not take Care He will have us Seized, but have your Credits brought in by an Indian & even do your Trading by this means, unless you can send Charles[91] with Them as you know he is a Citizen.

I have done nothing and have no Hope of doing Anything unless a Miracle happens, my Savages have Killed nothing at all and I have much opposition. Beaupré has not done much & Charles Nothing. Nothing at La Bay. Send me your

---

[91] Charles A. Grignon, son of Augustin, was a citizen by virtue of his birth June 8, 1808, at Green Bay. He was educated partly in New York state, and made his home with his father at Kaukauna, later forming a partnership with his brother Alexander for the fur-trade and general merchandise at that place. In 1831 he received a mill privilege on Fox River, and the next year served as an officer in Stambaugh's expedition against the Sauk in the Black Hawk War. In 1832 he married Mary Meade of Green Bay, who survived him, dying at her Kaukauna home in 1898. Two years after their marriage they built a house that was standing at the time of Mrs. Grignon's death. Charles A. Grignon was frequently utilized by the federal government as a Menominee interpreter, and at one time visited Washington in that capacity. In 1851 he was elected treasurer of Outagamie County; the next year there was a disputed election, which finally was carried to the state supreme court and decided in Grignon's favor, whereupon he retained the office for several years, a final settlement occurring in 1858. In 1853 and again two years later, he was summoned by the Indian agent to attend the Menominee payment and assist in arrangements with that tribe of Indians. When he died in 1862 the following eulogy was written: "His morals were pure, and his integrity unquestioned. Generous to a fault, his hand was ever open and his hospitality unbounded. * * * His honor was unimpeachable, his powers of mind, qualities of heart, and genuine refinement always made him loved and respected by all who knew him. He was a kind father, a true husband, a reliable friend, and a good citizen." He had nine children, some of whom were recently living in Kaukauna.—Ed.

Steamboat "Walk-in-the Water" at Detroit, 1820

From contemporary lithograph

Credits by the River noir [Black River] if those who hold them pass that way. I myself go to La Butte des Morts and will send Charles to the Portage. I will come back perhaps to await you at the Portage. Try and have St. Jean & farham give us their reports at the Portage this Spring. Take Courage and may God give us his favor.

No further news, our brother Pierre is writing to you. The Steam Boat perished on Lake Erie[92] and two other Vessels, one on Lake Michigan with all its Crew. Camp Smith is about to be abandoned.[93] An Ordinance has been issued to Build a Fort at the Sault Ste. Marie. Lawe and Mr. Porlier, Paul and all the family embrace you and your family. Charles, Paulitte and Margueritte are all well. Give my Compliments to Chapu and to all your men, [wishing] you health, prosperity and More Tranquility, Dear Auguste Your brother & friend

L. Grignon

---

[92] The first steamboat on Lake Erie, and the first to visit the upper lakes was the "Walk-in-the-Water," built at Black Rock (now a part of Buffalo) in 1818 and named for a Wyandot Indian chief whose village was on Detroit River. The vessel made its first arrival at Detroit Aug. 27, under command of Capt. Job Fish, carrying twenty-nine passengers. On the third trip, 150 persons ventured from Buffalo to Detroit in this new variety of boat. The first trip to Mackinac was made the next year; and in 1821 the steamboat continued on to Green Bay, where it arrived with troops Aug. 5. Leaving Black Rock the evening of Oct. 31, the vessel encountered a severe storm, was driven back upon the shore, and during the night her hull broke up. All the crew and passengers were rescued, and the engine was used to equip a new steamboat the next year. See Henry H. Hurlbut, *The Walk-in-the-Water* (Chicago, 1890).—Ed.

[93] Camp Smith was built in 1820 by Col. Joseph L. Smith, who being dissatisfied with the location of the military post at Fort Howard, had it removed three miles up the river and a half a mile from the bank, on a sightly hill in the quarter of Green Bay now known as Allouez. The troops were quartered here about two years, but were then removed again to Fort Howard. For a description of the site in 1824, see *Wis Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 208–210.—Ed.

I leave here Bills and Accounts that I think you can realize on this spring. You will notice that I placed a fixed price on the Merchandise & Liquors that I left at Mr. M. Brisbois but I have acted for the best. There is no money. I leave tomorrow the Ice is very bad you will arrange with Mr. Brisbois for my Account and give him a livre of powder and a Hundred weight of flour that he has lent me. There is Among the Bills and Accounts a Receipt of Mr. M. Brisbois for the Merchandize on Commission belonging to John Lawe this you will present to him. I have brought you Three livres of Tea, but I have taken one and there are only two left for you. Suspect Rolette As he will probably take you on all Possible sides.

St. Regres died the 18th of December Last. He was frozen to death.

I have contracted for 20 pairs of decorated shoes, try and have them well decorated

L. Grignon

Try and write me without fail by the Black River.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 10B21. Translated from the French.]

La Prairie Duchien 19 Feb. 1822

Dear Auguste—In addition to my first of this day, my Advice is to try and discover, that is to say prove, who has incited the Savages against you, merely giving information that this one or that one has carried on his Commerce in such or such manner. I think by Mayrand's man and the others you can find out by whom the Liquor was given to the Sioux before the Injury was done you.

A woman named Thismac the wife of the late Ignace La Rose told Bernard that she had seen two Kettlesful of Whiskey given by Mayrand to two Sioux saying to them, "go, you have enough for that," and made them leave; you can by frightening them see if this is so or not. I have asked Mr. Dousman to help you and Lawe has likewise. The agent is disposed to do

his duty & approve your Conduct. He only asks for complaints and proofs. Take care not to be at fault yourself. Write me every Circumstance Your brother &c

L. GRIGNON

Addressed: Monsieur Augustin Grignon Upper Missispy

[Source, same as preceding document, but 10B23. Translated from the French.]

LA PRAIRIE DUCHIEN 19 Feb. 1822

MY DEAR SIR—I had the pleasure of receiving your Letter that came to me by Mr. Withny [Whitney] the 4th of last January I thank for your good advice

I did not intend to come here, but the Continuation of my [brother's] Trouble and the Desertion of my men Louis Meshalin & Bz Bouché have forced me to do so.

I had wished to bring several pieces of your Goods but the Season being so advanced hindered me as the Ice is very bad in the Oisconsin and there is no Snow.

If you think your Things ought to be sent here by me, you can write me as soon as you return before I send my 2 Barges down as I have no business here except that mentioned above.

I beg you to assist my brother if he needs it, as I think that Mr. Rolette is Disposed to Give him as much Trouble as Possible.

No news Except that the Steam Boat perished at Bufflaw, and Camp Smith is about to be Abandoned. An Ordinance for building at the Sault St. Marie [is issued].

Accept my best respects wishing you all Prosperity and a good and pleasant voyage, Dear Sir, Your very Humble Obedient Servant.

L. GRIGNON

Mr. M. Dousman.

1822: INTERCOURSE WITH BRITISH TO BE BROKEN OFF

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 41, Letter Book 3, p. 385.]

DETROIT, March 29. 1822

SIR—I have received your letters of December 21st. and 28th. and of January 29th. I will thank you to give me a detailed statement of the Indians within your Agency, shewing the tribes, their number, situation etc.

I consider your Agency, as extending on the East to the Portage between the Fox and the Ouisconsin Rivers, and in other directions agreably to its received boundaries. The mode of communication, I must leave to you. Generally the quickest route is by St. Louis, but in the summer, letters by Green Bay will reach here in the shortest time.

I am exceedingly anxious, that the queries, I left with you should be fully answered, and I must request you to devote as much time and attention to that subject, as practicable. I am preparing a memoir for the War Department and those answers are necessary for the accomplishment of this object.

I have communicated to the War Department the information received from you relative to the hostile designs of the Winnebagoes. I cannot believe, that anything serious will result from their threats, but it is well to observe their conduct and to report every suspicious circumstance.

The Government is determined to destroy the intercourse, which subsists between the Indians living within our jurisdiction and the British Agents in Canada. I will therefore thank you to inform me whether any Indians within your Agency visit Malden or Drummond's Island for the purpose of receiving presents. I am Sir Very Respectfully Yr. obt. Servt.

[LEWIS CASS]

N: Boilvin Esqr. Ind. Agt. Prairie du Chien

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 388.]

DETROIT April 7th. 1822

SIR—The President has determined to interdict the intercourse, subsisting between the Indians living within our Territorial limits and the Officers of the British Indian Department, and other persons in Canada. The evils, which have resulted from this practice have been too long known and deplored upon this frontier to require any particular detail. The annual distribution of goods, which is made at Malden and Drummond's Island draws periodically to those places a large proportion of the most active and influential Indians who return to their Country, bearing with them British presents and British Counsels.

The motives and the effects of these gratuities, both heretofore and hereafter, can neither be forgotten nor mistaken. The whole history of our Indian intercourse, since the surrender of these posts in 1796 is filled with unerring indications of the influence thus acquired and most unjustifiably exerted.

All the Indians destined for Drummond's Island, except those from Lake Superior, must pass in the vicinity of Michillimackinac. Those measures therefore, which may be necessary, by the display of force, or by the actual employment of it, to prevent these visits to Drummond's Island, must be adopted and carried into effect at Michillimackinac. It is probable, that a military post will be established in the course of this season at the Sault Ste Marie and an Indian Agent appointed for that place. In this event instructions will be issued to him respecting the Indians from the Southern shore of Lake Superior and the heads of the Mississippi.

Measures analogous to those pursued at Michillimackinac will be adopted here to prevent the Indians from visiting Malden. Instructions have been issued to all the Indian Agents, announcing the views of the Government. As the local situation of the various Agencies differ, it is necessary to adopt specifick instructions to every one; but the general outline is the same. From your Agency, and from those of Green Bay

and Chicago, the Indians may be expected to visit Drummond's Island. From all the other Agencies, and in a considerable degree from the Chicago, and possibly from Green Bay these annual journies will be made to Malden. When I speak of the Green Bay Agency, I mean to include all the Indians to the West of it, because they must pass in their route the seat of the Agency and the military post upon the Fox River.

I am instructed by the Secretary of War to transmit to you the accompanying speech. You will send messages, containing a faithful translation of it with the usual formalities to the principal villages in your Agency, and explain as far as in your power, the purport of it to the Indians, who may visit you. The speech is intended to be adapted to the feelings and views of the Indians and the subject is treated with reference to its impression upon them. Those considerations therefore of publick policy and of a just regard to our future security which have dictated this measure form no part of the topics, proper to be urged to them.

This intercourse has existed so long and the quantity of goods annually distributed, bears so considerable a proportion to the whole consumption of the Indians, that it is not expected this interdiction can be carried into full effect immediately. The government is anxious to attain the object by mild rather than by forcible means. It is very desirable therefore, that every Agent should be able to prevail upon the Indians to remain in their own Country, in order that no violent measures may be necessary at this place or at Michillimackinac or the Sault, which command the avenues of communication. Besides explaining to the Indians the purport of the speech, you will use such other topics, as you may judge most expedient to prevail upon them to act in conformity with the wishes of the Government. It will be proper to withhold all supplies of provisions and presents from those, who are not disposed to follow your advice. And it will be well to declare publickly, that such persons will not be considered as friends to the United States. Your representations will perhaps be most effectual

by being addressed more particularly to the Chiefs and principal men, and by considering them, as far as proper, responsible for the conduct of the Young men and Warriors.

You will likewise state to them that any violation of these instructions will be reported to their great Father, the President, and that all attempts to cross to Malden or Drummond's Island will be prevented by soldiers, properly stationed for that purpose.

More detailed instructions will hereafter be given by the Government in relation to this subject. The object of this communication is to apprize you of the system, which is to be adopted, that you may explain it to the Indians and be prepared to enforce it. I cannot tell what force will be employed, nor how stationed. Nor do I yet know what additional expense your Agency will be subjected to by this arrangement. In the distribution of the funds for the current year, this consideration shall not be overlooked, and as soon as the final determination of the Government is made known to me, I will communicate it to you.

In the meantime I will thank you to inform me how the subject is received among the Indians, what are there views in relation to it, and what will probably be the course, they will pursue. It is scarcely to be expected, that the whole object can be immediately effected. This interchange of presents and influence has so long subsisted, and has been so convenient for each party, that time and attention will be required effectually to restrain it. But the object may no doubt be accomplished, and it is important enough to justify any measures, which will probably be necessary. I am, Sir, Very Respectfully Yr. Obt. Servt.

[Lewis Cass]

George Boyd Esqr. Ind. Agent, Michillimackinac

Speech to be delivered to Indians.

My Children—Your great Father, the President of the United States, has observed with much anxiety your frequent

visits to Malden and Drummonds Island. These annual journies are injurious to you and to your white brethren. They occupy a considerable portion of your time and withdraw your attention from the care and support of your women and children. Many of you live a great distance from these places, and to reach them, you must traverse a great extent of Country and consume your time and provisions. The Great Spirit, who placed you here, placed the White people here. The Eagle and the stripes and the stars wave over our whole Country and all the Children of your great Father, white and red, enjoy his protection. No foreign government has a right to interfere in any questions depending between you and the United States, nor can there be any, which wishes to interfere. Your great Father is willing and able and prepared to do you justice, nor does he need the advice of any other person to inspire him with proper sentiments. But when you leave your own Country and pass into a Territory, not governed by our laws, stories are told to you, which are calculated to make an unfavorable impression upon your minds, towards your American brethren. You must be sensible that this practise has been pursued for a great number of years, and if you look to the situation in which you have been placed, you will see how injurious it has been to you. Bad men are found in all countries. When such men give you wrong counsel in our Country, they may be apprehended and punished. But your great father has not authority in the Country beyond the Detroit River and the Lakes. This belongs to the King of Great Britain, with whom the Americans are now at peace. None of his Officers would give you bad advice, but when you leave the United States, persons are ready to whisper in your ears. Like bad birds they are flitting about you, telling false stories of us, poisoning your minds, and giving advice injurious to you and to us.

Besides it it not necessary for you to visit Drummond's Island or Malden for the purposes of trade. Your great Father has established trading houses among you, and has also licensed

Citizens of the United States to trade with you, by whom you can be supplied with goods in your own Country, on as good terms, as you can obtain them at Drummonds Island or Malden or elsewhere. And in addition to the fatigue of traveling so great a distance as to these places, to procure supplies, the journey will cost you more than the goods themselves. And it is certain, that the design of the British Agents in furnishing you with goods is not from any friendly feelings towards you, or for your benefit, but to acquire over you for political purposes an influence, which may be wielded hereafter, as circumstances or policy may dictate.

Your wise men must see the evil, which you suffer by the use of whiskey. If not restrained it will destroy your people. Your great Father has long tried to keep it from you. But unfortunately we have bad men, who will sell and you have bad men who will buy. As long as you keep in your own Country, not much of it will reach you. Our regulations prohibit its introduction there. But when you enter our settlements, it is impossible to prevent it's sale to you. Your people will purchase it with their Clothes, their silver work and their arms, and after getting drunk and injuring their health, they return poor, naked and hungry. Besides your young men violate our laws, and sometimes we are compelled to imprison and punish them, as we would our own people. Your great Father therefore has thought it best, that you should remain at home to follow the game, which the great Spirit has given you, and to take care of your women and Children. He wishes you not to visit Malden nor Drummonds Island, nor any other place out of the jurisdiction of the United States. He is confident, that all your Chiefs and Wise men will see the propriety of this measure; Some of your rash young men may not listen to his advice. Should any be found so foolish he has instructed his Officers, appointed to take charge of your interests, to pursue such steps, as may be proper on the occasion.

1822: PASSPORT FOR BRITISH TRADER

[Source, same as preceding document; but Letter Book E, Aug 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 248.]

To all who shall see these presents: Greeting.

Whereas Col: R Dickson of the North West having made application to the Department of War for permission to go from Green Bay in the Territory of Michigan to St. Peters on the Mississippi River: Now, therefore, be it known that the said Col Dickson is hereby permitted to pass accordingly to St. Peters governing himself in all respects agreeably to the Laws of the United States of all and singular the regulations and restrictions which are or shall be made regulating intercourse with the Indian tribes.

Given under my hand and the seal of the
Seal United States War Office at the City of Washington this 27 April 1822.

J. C. Calhoun

Endorsed: Passport to Col. Dickson.

1822: THE GREEN BAY COMPANY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 10B59.]

Mackinac May 16th 1822

Jacques Porlier,

Dear Sir—Your two favours of last month came duly to hand, & permit me to thank you for your attention in sending me copies of the depositions against james Kinzie, which by-the-way carry a real *Factory face.* But I am happy to inform you that those nuisances have at length received their *coup de grace.*

I sincerely sympathize with you on the unpromising appearance of your returns generally; & particularly that of the Prarie, for there seems to be a suspition *afloat* of some person

having instigated the Indians, to commit the outrages they have, on M^r. A. Grignon; but when the thing is investigated fully, I trust no person can be found so unprincipled, as to commit such a black deed; & I most sincerely hope that your affairs in that quarter will terminate more favourably than you now expect.

As to "persons opposing you in trade, who can undersell you 50 pc^t.", I am satisfied that you have too much good sense, not to be fully aware that the thing is impossible, & nothing more than *bombast*: that there is too much opposition in the country, is certainly true; but what you mean by *une guerre ouverte* [open war], I do not comprehend, if it is an insinuation that we do so, I deny the fact, & you well know that should an individual connected with us in any way, have a misunderstanding with any of your people in the interior, that it is a circumstance over which we have no control, however much we may lament it. In short I am convinced you are fully sensible that it is not in any way our interest *to injure your concern.*

As to the information you require relative to the clause in the article of your copartnership ("at the Invoice cost") it is out of my power to satisfy you, as I had no hand in drawing up the instrument, it having been done entirely by your Gentlemen & Mr. Crooks, besides I have no copy of it: but so soon as Mr. Crooks arrives, I shall enquire of him—no news, nor have I had a single letter from M^r. C. this spring. D^r. Sir I am yr: Mo: ob^t. Servt:

Robert Stuart

P. S. Cap^t. Kieth will deliver you a Keg of White-Fish, which I beg your acceptance of. R. S.

If an opportunity offers, please forward the accompanying letter to M^r. Rolette, if not keep it until his arrival at the Bay.

Addressed: Jacques Porlier Esq^r. Green Bay With a Keg of White Fish

Endorsed: letter of Mr. R. Stuart regarding the opposition, 1822

[Source, same as preceding document, but 16A18.]

Received Green Bay 21 May 1822 Ten Dolls. of Judge porler it being a territorial Tax on marc[h]ants and traders During the Present year

GEO JOHNSTON *Sheriff*[94]

Endorsed: Receipt of George Johnston.

1822: FACTORIES ABOLISHED

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book D, July 1820–April 1822, p. 352.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE 22d. May 1822

Circular To the Factors

SIR—By an act of the late Congress the U. S. trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes is to cease on the 3d. day of next month. I shall I presume be officially instructed by the Treasury Department perhaps as to general matters. This is to request of you to be very particular in Invoicing the stock etc. on hand—every article that a disbursement has been made for, Merchandize, buildings, furniture etc. you will enter at its *original cost price* and any deficiencies by damages or wear you will enter by a note referring to them. You will take the Inventories in presence of some respectable witnesses as the property may by a possible contingency get into the hands of men who may not understand its management, I wish the receipts to be taken by duplicate and to be expressive and full to the period of the transfer. Pay prompt attention to this,

[94] George Johnston was a native of Rockingham County, Va., and came to Green Bay in 1819 as sutler, after service of efficiency in the War of 1812–15. He was a brother-in-law of Maj. William Whistler, and was sheriff of Brown County 1819–29; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, iv, p. 182. In 1832 he was captain in the Black Hawk War. His house on the west side of the Fox was known as the "Green Tree." One of his sons became a Catholic priest, and was vicar-general of Texas. The elder Johnston was known to the French inhabitants as *le Grand Sheriff*. He died at Green Bay in 1850.—ED.

and send one of the receipts on to me by mail as soon as you receive them of the person who may be instructed to receive the property.

T. L. McK[ENNEY]

[Source, same as preceding document, but p. 353.]

INDIAN TRADE OFFICE 23d. May 1822

The Honbl. Secy. of War

SIR—In reply to your letter of yesterday requesting to be informed how many and what tribes have claims by treaty, to the establishments of trading houses among them, I have the honor to state that with the Sac and Fox Indians a treaty stipulation exists,[95] tho' they have no house specially allotted for them, but they do their business at Prarie du Chien and Fort Edwards. This and those with the Osages and the Chaktaws, make up the number of trading houses stipulated for by treaty. I know of no others.

T. L. McK[ENNEY]

1822: CHARGES AGAINST ROLETTE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 54B83. Translated from the French[96].]

GREEN BAY, June 8, 1822.

His Excellency M. Cass Governor of Michigan Territory

GOVERNOR—It is nothing less than a duty to place before you the abuses which have taken place in this Territory, the

---

[95] By the ninth article of the treaty of 1804 the United States agreed to maintain a trading house or factory for the Fox and Sauk tribes. At the request of the War Department, Thomas Forsyth, agent for these tribesmen at Fort Armstrong, assembled their chiefs at that place and Sept. 3, 1822, concluded an agreement with them whereby for the sum of $1,000 worth of merchandise this article of the treaty of 1804 was abrogated. See *Treaties with Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1837), pp. 112, 304.—ED.

[96] The following manuscript, unsigned, and undated, but in Porlier's well-known handwriting, is in the Society's possession. A trans-

offences which are here committed against the laws, and the misdemeanors of all kinds and their authors. It is on such a consideration that I address to your excellency a Memorial regarding the Conduct of a band of Sious on the Mississippi, at the instigation, according to every appearance, of a merchant trader at prairie du Chien. I coincide no doubt, in this with the agent of the river St. Pierre in his report to the Secretary of state.[97] You see, Governor, that that dangerous personage controls the Savages as if they were Machines, and can make them Commit the greatest excesses. His means are duplicity and making presents.

After having presented you with a detail of the Conduct of the Sious I shall put before you the reasons that authorize me to impute the deed to Mr. Jos. Rolette.

Mr. Aug. Grignon, furnished with a license to winter on the Misissipi arrived at his destination last autumn. He was no sooner settled than he was visited by a number of Sious in Arms, and after having demanded of him by what authority he came on their Lands to steal their Wood and Stone, they obliged him afterwards to leave his house, set fire to it, nearly burned all his goods, and were on the point of killing him himself, according to the report of one of the Savages, who tried

---

lation of the same is found in the Pension Building, Washington—pressmark: Indian Office Letters Recd., 1822, no. 1, p. 400. This is dated Green Bay, June 8, 1822. The third paragraph of this document, containing some additional facts, we have incorporated with our own draught.—Ed.

[97] The agent was Maj. Lawrence Talliaferro, who in his "Autobiography" published in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 189–255, refers (pp. 200, 201) to the ill treatment that Augustin received at the hands of the Sioux, instigated by Rolette. Talliaferro was a Virginian, born in 1794, who served throughout the War of 1812–15, and entered the regular army. In 1819 he was sent as Indian agent to the new post on the upper Mississippi and retained the position until 1840, serving twenty-one consecutive years. In 1857 he re-entered the service as military storekeeper at Bedford, Pa., retiring in 1863. He died at the latter place in 1871.—Ed.

to do so. This action was mingled with several insults of different sorts.

The Sieur A. Grignon having shown his license in the presence of Mr. Soulard of St. Louis, and having explained to them [the Sioux] that that Writing was from their father, that it allowed him to fix himself where he thought good, the Chief replied that they had only one father, who was English, that he was master on their land and not the Government, accompanying this by several expressions insignificant in themselves but conveying an insult against the government. After these illegal and injurious proceedings Mr. Aug. Grignon, persuaded that he could not bring these savages to reason, did as they exacted of him, re-embarked, and descended in the worst season of the year to a distance of 25 miles where he rebuilt. There he was again troubled several times, and annoyed under divers pretexts, but without very serious results since the Puants [Winnebago] who placed themselves in the vicinity came to his assistance. The probable purpose of these proceedings was to hinder Mr. A. Grignon from succeeding, or to put him in a position of such danger, exposed to the evil deeds of barbarians incited to do harm [that he would abandon his trade].

After having thus exposed the Conduct of the Savages without entering into particular details that aggrievated their insurrection against the government, I will relate the reasons we have to impute to Mr. Rolette their bad Conduct.

1st. Mr. J. Rolette is an ambitious merchant trader who in order to appropriate the Hunt of the Savages of Mr. A. Grignon used the expedient of rousing this band of Sious which is devoted to him, because of his connection with its chief.

2nd. Mr. Rolette, who is called the little Englishman by the Sious is really a British subject, and that fact has weight with that band which is still attached to that Government.

3d. The proof that he was the mover of the affair is that the Sious in obliging Mr. Grignon to retreat, exempted therefrom an outfit of Mr. Rolette which was at the same place.

4th. The person in charge of the second outfit of Mr. Rolette whom Mr. Aug. Grignon met on his retreat said that if he had been on the spot he would have hindered his being displaced, and that it was in the power of the other person to do likewise by using Mr. Rolette's name; thus Mr. Rolette was the power behind the deed.

5th. Several of the Savages stated on several occasions that the trouble did not arise among the Sious, but was incited by the whites.

6th. The distant Sious disavowed the Conduct of that band, and said that they would take means to hinder such an event in the future, that they considered that it was incited by some white men since from the time that they had separated they had left the Road clear.

7th. Mr. Rolette did not conceal that he had boasted that he would destroy Mr. Grignon; and in speaking to one of his clerks he said to the latter if he made any arrangement with the former he would make him lose his wages and several things more.

Mr. Rolette has always taken the lead at the Prairie, that is known, as much by his intrigues as by his threats he has gained a footing everywhere. The Indian agent, military officers, citizens of every rank with few exceptions have many times acted on his behalf as he does not hesitate to say, and he has been seen in full Court to insult what the laws regard as most sacred, and by means of false oaths to try to obtain judgment by surprise. And it is at present generally recognized that there is no individual who has caused and will cause there so much trouble. It is to be desired that your Excellency would take cognizance of this. Without wishing to cause harm to any one we request your Excellency to take measures to stop the evil that cannot but arise from such impunity.

We enclose herein letters relative to the event from the agent at the river St. pierre which will aid your excellency in forming a judgment on that which we have laid before you.

[Jq. Porlier]

Endorsed. Memoir to the Governor.

1822: MACKINAC INDIANS WITHDRAWN FROM BRITISH INFLUENCE

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letters Received, 1822, no. 1. Gov. Cass. p. 380.]

MACKINAC, 20th. June 1822.

DEAR SIR—I return you thanks for your letter of explanation, in relation to drafts drawn by the Agents on your Department:—it is perfectly satisfactory.

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Indians belonging to this Agency, in a general Council, have assured me that they will not visit the British posts. I can assure your Excy, however, that this promise was drawn from them, with considerable difficulty. One of the Canoes directed to be built, by your orders early this Spring, is now sent to you by Capt. Rogers—The Bill shall be forwarded to you by another opportunity. With great respect and consideration I am Dr. Sir Your Mo. Obed. St.

GEORGE BOYD

Addressed: His Excy. Lewis Cass. Govr. of Michigan Ty. Detroit. favd by Major Delafield.

Endorsed: 20 June 1822 From Col Boyd conc'g. the Indians crossing into Canada and sending down a Canoe.

1822: CONTINUANCE OF GREEN BAY COMPANY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 10B80. Translated from the French.]

BAY VERTE 25 June 1822

SIR—As the Company according to the Act of Union Continues to pursue its interests, since perhaps all means should be taken, and having no Certainty of being Furnished by the Fur Company of M^c^kinac which has formed it I am obliged in the quality of agent to ask you to decide what I ought to do. I have already written to the house twice on the Subject in order to Regulate the Expense according to what they will Furnish. I have had no Reply.

As for myself at present if I were to continue in the Company I would immediately engage The Men which I thought necessary for the Trade and would directly give Orders for all the districts to continue business as it is for their interest, 1st for the district of Lebay 2nd that of the Wouisconsing to Build a Warehouse & other necessary Buildings and as it appears by the information of Mr. Louis Grignon there is a lead mine there that could be worked with advantage [would give orders] to have that done the sooner the better.

2nd It would be Advantageous from my point of view to have the present engagés work there and send to the Portage all the provisions and other articles for the autumn trade. It would be well likewise to send some one to the Mississipi to decide whether to Continue there after the manner in which the outfit of Mr. Aug^{t}. has suffered, and as Mr. Lawe has received information of a Copper Mine to see if there may not be some advantage drawn from that.

It must also be Decided to go to M^{c}Kinac soon and learn on what terms business may be Placed, Especially as to the Peltries and Many other Things that may be necessary to take into Consideration.

I appeal to you for time presses and Interests suffer if We remain Inactive, awaiting with Impatience what you Determine that I may Fulfil my task according to your Wishes, not wishing to have any Reproaches in the future for being obliged to go out from the Company not for my own Contentment, but for a proper Accounting to you; Believe me, I am not uninterested, I shall not be less so. Yours with Esteem and consideration, Sirs, Your very humble & obedient Servant

P. Grignon
for C. B.[98]

Endorsed by Porlier: 1822 Letter from Pierre Grignon mentioning a lead mine.

[98] Pierre A. Grignon was acting as the Green Bay agent of the company. This letter is addressed to the partners, requesting instructions with regard to plans. The letters "C. B." are frequently used to indicate the company—probably an abbreviation of the French form, *Compagnie de Bayverte*.—Ed.

1822: NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR INDIAN AGENTS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 161, Letter Book 4.]

DETROIT, July 6, 1822.

Maj: Jno. Biddle, Indian Agent Green Bay.

SIR—All licenses for Indian trade will be hereafter granted under the act passed at the last session of Congress, a copy of which you have received.[99]

The words "remote tribes" used in this act have been construed by the Secretary of War to mean the tribes beyond our military posts, and this construction will be adopted by the respective agents in granting licenses.

I transmit you the form of an abstract of licenses, which will be made out and forwarded by you, as soon after the first day of September as possible, and which will exhibit all the licenses issued by you during the year preceding that day.

* * * * * * * *

The most rigid economy is urged upon us by the War department, and I am directed to say, that it must not for one moment be forgotten. The sum assigned to your agency is intended to be the maximum of expenditure, but if with a proper regard to the publick interest, your disbursements can be reduced below that sum, it is recommended to you to do it.

The following sums have been assigned to this Superintendency by the War department for this year.

For Pay of Indian Agents	$6,600
—— Sub-Agents	5,000
—— Presents to Indians	4,500
—— Contingent expenses, to-wit, pay of blacksmiths, interpreters, etc., and the pay of the Indian Agent at the Sault, which was not included in the specifick appropriation for the pay of Agents	15,300
Making the whole, in Dolls	$31,400

[99] Congress passed an act (May 6, 1822) regulating the matter of licenses, bonds required, etc. For "remote tribes," licenses might be issued for seven years.—ED.

Of this amount the following sums have been assigned to your agency, to wit:

For your own pay	$1,500
—— Presents to Indians	600
—— Contingencies including as above . . .	800
Dolls.	2,900

This apportionment has been reduced below the annuities, which would have been assigned, had the agent resided during the whole season, at the Agency. It is presumed that the expenditure will be more limited, than it otherwise would have been. However should I be wrong in this conjecture, the requisite addition, agreeably to your estimate, shall be made to the contingent fund. With much respect, I am, Sir, Yr. Obt. Sevt. [Lewis Cass]

1822: MISDEEDS TO BE PUNISHED

[Source, same as preceding document.]

Detroit, July 9, 1822.

Hon: J. C. Calhoun, Secty. of War, Washington.

Sir—I have the honour to transmit herewith a letter from a number of traders at Green Bay, respecting the conduct of a band of Sioux upon the Mississippi, during the last winter, to a trader named Grignon. If the facts are correctly stated, some measures ought to be adopted to repress their insolence, and to provide for the security of future traders. One such example, unheeded and unfinished, may lead to many publick and private aggressions, and to much individual injury.

It appears to me, that it would be proper to instruct the agent at Saint Peters to enquire into this transaction, and if he find the Sioux have been guilty to the extent represented, the Chiefs of the band ought to be convened, and bring with them the persons implicated. The nature of the offence and their duties to the United States and it's citizens should be

explained and enforced, and a publick apology ought to be made by those who have committed the injury. And more particularly so with relation to the declaration, of their attachment to the British Government. As they will nourish this sentiment, they should conceal it, and if it cannot be repressed, it should be punished. It is important they should distinctly understand, that the avowal of such feelings will be met by measures of just severity. I have found in my intercourse with the Indians, that firm and vigorous representations seldom fail in their effects, and generally prevent much difficulty, as well to them as to [blank in MS.]

From all that has reached me with respect to Rolette, I encline to the opinion, that he is capable of acting in the manner represented. If he has done so, it is a flagitious act of violence, equally outrageous in its character and objects. He is a resident of Prairie du Chien, and from there his goods are sent into the Indian Country. I think it would be expedient to direct the Commanding Officer at that post to inquire into and report to the war department the circumstances of the case, and if his report confirms the statement, the Indian Agents upon this frontier ought [not] to be instrumental to grant him another license to trade in the Indian country. Such an enquiry ought naturally perhaps to be made by Mr. Boilvin, the Agent, but you are doubtless aware, that his habits qualify him for managing the ordinary intercourse with the Indians rather than conducting an extra judicial examination. Very respectfully I have the honor to be Sir Yr. Obt. Sevt.

[Lewis Cass]

1822: CLOSING THE FACTORIES

[Source, same as preceding document.]

Detroit, July 18, 1822.

Hon: J. C. Calhoun, Secretary of War Washington.

Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26 Ulto.

I was under misapprehension respecting the provisions of the act for closing the Factory establishments of the United States. I supposed the goods on hand, after satisfying certain specifick objects, were to be destributed gratuitously to the Indians. By an arrangement made last fall, Mr. McKenney instructed the Factors at Green Bay and Chicago to transmit to this place such goods in their stores, as were not suited for the establishment, then contemplated to be formed at St. Peters.

In conformity with this arrangement goods to the invoice amount of twelve thousand dollars have been forwarded from those factories to this place. A few of them have been destributed under the impression I have stated, but nearly all of them remain on hand.

These goods were selected I presume as the worst and most unsaleable in the factories and certainly they well deserve this character. They are not fit for destribution, and three-fourths of them in amount are common blankets.

I shall therefore merely retain them in possession, subject to the orders of the person, who may be sent to close the factory establishments. For I cannot consent, that they shall be charged to the department, and issued to the Indians on account of the annual appropriation for presents.

The best plan that can be adopted with respect to them is to sell them at publick auction. Very respectfully, Sir, I have the honour to be, Yr. Obt. Sevt.

[Lewis Cass]

1822: DISTRESS AT PRAIRIE DU CHIEN

[Source, same as preceding document; but Indian Office Letters Received, 1822, no. 2, p. 78.]

Fort Crawford, July 18th, 1822.

Sir—Having not been able to obtain an answer to the Indian disturbances which you desire of me by your Special Letter, in order to hinder them from visiting the Fort of Malden,

NAW-KAW (CARAMAUNEE)

A Winnebago chief. From colored lithograph in McKenney and Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes* (Philadelphia, 1854), i, p. 315

Drummond's Island or any of the English Settlements by reason of its being Strictly prohibited by their Great Father "the President of the United States:" I have assembled them in council and explained this displeasure to them, and Sent word from the River aux Moines to the Sioux Nation as high as possible; also to the Socks and Winnebago's. The Savages are in continual war among themselves by reason of which not many of them will go to Malden. May be a few Socks, Foxes, ossages, ayoways. Concerning the Winnebago's I must inform you that a couple of chiefs with their Bands intended to go to mackinaw, The band of Caramonis and Niokatais.[1] I am not yet informed of the progress of their Council. Here are five Brothers of the Decarais[2] just arrived from the Portage of Wisconsent; and another party from Prairie *à* la Crosse The Sioux. To morrow I Shall Speak to them and explain them the nature of the council for which reason they are come here So that they may explain the message to their village after which I will delineate the whole contents to you Sir!

The Savages as well as the inhabitants here have lost every one of their gardens crops and plantations, of which general

---

[1] Caramaunee was a well-known Winnebago chief, whose Indian name was Nahkaw or Walking Turtle. He appears to have been one of Tecumseh's allies, and is said to have visited his brother the Prophet in 1809; he fought with Tecumseh under the British standard in 1813—see description in Powell's "Recollections," Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1912. Before the Winnebago War, his village was near the Fox River; afterwards he removed to the Baraboo. See description in Juliette A. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun*, p. 63; see also note in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 181.

Neokotah (Niokatais) was the celebrated Winnebago chief Four Legs, whose village was on Doty's Island. He also served under the British in the War of 1812–15, at Fort Meigs, Sandusky, and Prairie du Chien. He died in 1830. See description of his death and burial in *Wau-Bun*, pp. 60–63; consult also *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v. p. 96.—Ed.

[2] See *ante*, p. 235, note 84, for the eldest Decorah. Augustin Grignon said that he had four brothers—Black Decorah, Raisin Decorah, Rascal Decorah, and one other. See description of this family in *Wau-Bun, passim*.—Ed.

deluge and distress Mr. Lecuyer can give you a minute detail: the Indians look up to me to inform you So that by your medium, their grand Father the President may do Some thing in their favour: and indeed the White Inhabitants need it also. May be the representation of this general distress might induce Government to pass an act in our favour whereas all our bright prospects are lost by the general Deluge.

I take the liberty to Send you a Sioux Dictionary collected by Doctor Van Tricht, whilst he was at St. Peters.[3] With the utmost respect I take the liberty to Subscribe Sir Your Obt. Humble Servt.

N: Boilvin *agent*

His Excellency L. Cass. Governor of State of Mishegan.

1822: GREEN BAY COMPANY ARRANGEMENTS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 11B38. Translated from the French.]

La Bay 23 July, 1822

Dear Charles—My boat or rather that of the Company will leave for the Portage the 25th Instant or at latest the 27th. I hope to go myself and make the tour of all the [villages of the] Savages of the District. I send Amable[4] only to give you eight calico wrappers

You will receive by Amable Ten livres [word omitted] and notice and consequently remain Your brother & friend

L. Grignon

Our brother Pierre is here yet, but tomorrow or the day after

---

[3] The secretary of war had ordered the Indian agents to send in vocabularies of the tribes under their care; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, x, p. 65, note. In his "Synopsis of Indian Tribes" in Amer. Antiq. Soc., *Transactions*, ii, p. 124, Gallatin mentions a Siouan vocabulary "transmitted by General Cass to the War Department." Probably this was the one here mentioned. We have not been able to identify the compiler of this dictionary.—Ed.

[4] This was the younger Amable, noted *ante*, p. 157, note 21.—Ed.

he and Mr. Lawe leave for M°Kinac. Auguste remains at Kakaling I suppose & Mr Porlier stays here. Do not leave the Portage before I arrive. I have not made out your report, but have turned over the peltry to our brother Pierre. Send Amable back immediately Your Sincere brother

L. Grignon

You must Immediately get rid of the salt [sic] that you have as a Law has passed that All Indian traders in whose possession is Found any Intoxicating Liquors shall have their merchandise confiscated by the informer, lose their Bond and honor, and be Imprisoned Three Years. Your business is to get rid of that which was passed up as provision and yourself go without Any Witness, without Any witness, without Any Witness. This is absolutely my advice.

Addressed: Mr. Charles Grignon Portage du Oisconsin By Amable Grignon.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 11B39. Translated from the French.]

Bay verte 23 July 1822.

Sir—Since you request me by your Instructions to await for Mr. Lawe your Representative who takes passage with me to M°Kinac, that makes it necessary to ask of you, to give me all Information relative to the affairs Directed by you in the messisepy, in order that I may govern myself accordingly in fulfilling my duty as [I see] by your letters you are determined to have Justice.

As the agent for the C. B. Company I have no other desire, and nothing more at heart, than to fulfil my task as well as your desires. Awaiting your response, Believe me Sir with all possible Esteem Your obedient Servant

P. Grignon
for C. B.

Addressed: Augustin Grignon Esq. Present.

1822: LIQUOR AT MILWAUKEE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 11B43.]

Fort Howard Green Bay July 26th 1822

Sir—Agreeably to your request I proceed to commit to writing a statement I made to you on my arrival at this post respecting the Indians at Milwalka and the conduct of the trader or traders at that place. I arrived at Milwalka on the 17th and found the Indians too much intoxicated to assist me in crossing the River soon after crossing I met with Mr Golemens who stated that he was a licensed Trader from this place that Mr. James Kinsey had arrived there a day or two previous from Mackinaw with three barrels of Whiskey and that since this (Kinseys) arrival the Indians had been continually intoxicated & extremely troublesome that but the day before they had endeavored to set fire to and destroy his tent which contained his goods He farther stated that Clark[5] the reputed agent of Kinsey was purchasing the Indians Horses He gave from 5 to ten Quarts of Whiskey that was very much adulterated during my stay I observed the Indians were continually lounging in the vicinity of Clarks House and I perceived they came from the back part of the House with Whiskey

[5] John Kinzie Clark, known to the early settlers of Chicago as "Indian Clark," was a son of a Scotch trader and of Elizabeth McKenzie, a captured Virginia girl, sister of John Kinzie's first wife. Clark was born near Fort Wayne in 1792 and grew up among the Indians. Upon his mother's return to Virginia he accompanied her, and in 1816 came to Chicago, where he went into partnership with his cousin, James Kinzie. While trading at Milwaukee he married Madeleine Mirandeau, and appears to have been a resident of that place for some years. After his mother and half-brothers, the Clybournes removed to Chicago (1823–24). Clark established himself on the north branch of Chicago River, west of Wilmette. He was employed as dispatch bearer during the Black Hawk War, and later as mail carrier. He was noted as a hunter and breeder of Indian ponies, and died quite late in life at his home near Chicago.—Ed.

which I presumed they had purchased of Clarke It may be necessary to add that I had met Mr Kinsey two days previous within a few miles of Chicago and he was not at Milwalka at the time I was there though Mr Golemans informed me that he heard Kinsie declared he would continue to sell Whiskey as long as he was permitted to remain in the Country.

James W. Webb[6]
Lt 3d Infantry

To Major John Biddle Agent for Indian Affairs Green Bay

[Source, same as preceding document; but 90C1.]

Michilimackinac, July 26th, 1822

Antoin Longwar formerly of Montreal Lower Canada being duly sworn maketh oath and saith that in the Years of Eighteen hundred and Twenty and Eighteen hundred and Twenty one or a part of Each said years he was a hireling to Rix Robinson of Michilimackinac as a Boatman and also to do other services such as are generally done by men Engaged for the Indian Country. That he left this place in the fall of Eighteen hundred and Twenty in company with the said Rix to go and winter at a place on the west side of [Lake] Michigan called Milliwackie. That the said Rix Pro[ceeded] to Milliwackie for the purpose of Trading with the Indians of that place. That after arriving at said place he remained

---

[6] Gen. James Watson Webb, later well-known as an editor and diplomat, was a native of New York, son of a Revolutionary officer. At the age of seventeen, he secured an appointment as lieutenant in the army by personal solicitation of Secretary of War Calhoun. He served on the Western frontier for seven years, resigning in 1827. For his experiences on the Western plains see his *Altowan* (New York, 1845), preface. After returning to New York he became editor of the *Courier and Enquirer*, and was in 1861 appointed brigadier-general, an honor which he declined. He was then chosen minister to Brazil, where he served efficiently during the Civil War. He died in New York, June 7, 1884.—Ed.

there in the service of the said Rix during the winter of Eighteen hundred and Twenty one and that he was never Knowing to the said Rix's vending or selling Spirituous Liquors to any Indian or Indians while remaining at said place but on the contrary he has reason to believe he did not

That the Indians during the fall winter & Spring were frequently Intoxicated he is sensible but that they obtained the Whisky or Liquor from Chicago and other Traders in that vicinity he always understood and verily believes

That a man was living at Milliwackie by the name of [blank in MS.] Mirandaw[7] and of wh[om] the said Rix rented a part of a dwelling house during the time above mentioned. That said Mirandaw was much in the habit of Intoxication. That said Mirandaw in the fall of Eighteen hundred and Twenty obtained a Barrel of Whisky (from Chicago as he understood). That said Mirandaw was in a State of intoxication frequently and while in such State was in a habit of calling every Indian who came to the house to drink with him who were made drunk by him the said Mirandaw and much to the annoyance of the said Rix in as much as the only outside door to the house led through the apartment of the house occupied by the said Rix. That the said Mirandaw continued so to do until the said barrel of Whiskey was consumed. That afterwards the said Mirandaw frequently obtained whisky or other Liquor for

---

[7] Jean Baptiste Mirandeau (the name was originally Maranda, and is so given in the Mackinac Register in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, xix) was a French Canadian who had served upon Lake Superior and in the Wabash country before settling at Milwaukee some time in the latter years of the 18th century. He was a blacksmith, and in the War of 1812–15 made weapons for the British Indians; see his claims for losses in *Id*, xii, p. 131. Marrying an Ottawa woman, he had a family of children, some of whom lived in later life with the Kinzie family at Chicago. The Victoire, Genevieve, and Tomah mentioned in Mrs. Kinzie's *Wau-Bun*, were of the Mirandeau family. A sketch of this early dweller in Milwaukee is found in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 222. This document proves, however, that he did not die as early as there stated, but probably in the winter of 1821–22, among the Indians west of Milwaukee.—Ed.

Peltries and also for a Bull, as he understood from some other persons he believes from Jaque Vaux or Jams Kinsie who were then Trading in that vicinity which he made use of or consumed as before in company with the Indians And further this deponant saith not

his
ANTOINE + LONGWAR
mark

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of July 1822
W. HENY PUTHUFF
J. P. C. M.

MICHILIMACKINAC July 26th 1822

John B. Clukey & Joseph Babow of Michillimackinac being duly sworn make oath and say that they were in the Employment of Rix Robinson during the time above mentioned in the above affidavit and at the same time with the said Antoine Longwar who was also in the Employ of the said Rix That they are well Knowing to all the circumstances mentioned in the above affidavit which are correct and True. That they were never Knowing to the said Rix vending or selling any spirituous Liquors to any Indian or Indians during the time above mentioned but on the contrary have reason to believe he did not

his
JOHN Bt. + CLUKEY
mark
his
JOSEPH + BABBIEN
mark

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of July 1822
W. HENY PUTHUFF
J. P. C. M.

I do hereby certify that Frances Boyer was duly sworn before me the undersigned, one of the [justices of] the Peace in & for the County of Michilimackinac & upon his oath aforesaid did interpret and explain to the above subscribers or deponants the above or within Depositions & oaths by them Made

taken & subscrib'd Given under my hand at Michilimackinac this 28th day of July 1822.

Wm. Henry Puthuff
J. P. C. M.

1822: RESTITUTION FOR AUGUSTIN GRIGNON

[Source, same as preceding document, but 11B50. Translated from the French.]

Louisianaville, July 29th 1822

Dear Sir—I received by Mr. Whitney your last letter and also the Martens that you had the kindness to send me as well as the beautiful otter that you had the complaisance to leave for me at Mr. Brisbois's house. I did not receive your letter from the Baye until the very moment that we left prairie du Chien so that it was impossible for me to reply as soon as I wished. I have seen the Agent of river St Pierre who could do nothing in your affair for lack of sufficient proof. I talked to him about you and he told me that the *Sauteurs* [Chippewa] of the Mississippi had requested of him a trader for next winter and that if you would Consent to go and trade there next winter that he would do all in his power for you, and that he believes that it would be very advantageous to you speaking their language as you do. You may Count on justice from Mr. Taliaferro and his good will toward you. He wishes you to be recompensed for the troubles you suffered last winter. If I can, dear Sir, be useful to you in any thing, I beg you to Call upon me without reserve. I remain your Sincere Friend and Servant,

James G. Soulard

Addressed: Mr. Augustin Grignon, Green Bay, Michigan. Care of Mr. Michel Brisebois, P. du Chien.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 308.]

DEPARTMENT OF WAR August 1st, 1822

His Excy Lewis Cass Detroit

SIR—Your letter of the 9th. ultimo, enclosing a letter from a number of traders at Green Bay has been received.

In April last a communication was received from Mr. Taliaferro reporting the conduct of the Sioux and Rolette, and he was instructed to represent to the Sioux in strong and spirited terms the inpropriety of their conduct (which was viewed as unfriendly to the government) and the consequences to which a repetition of it might lead. He was also instructed to keep his eye upon Rolette, whose character is well known here, and report his proceedings to this Department.

Mr. Taliaferro has not yet reported; as soon as he does further and more explicit instructions will be given to him.

J. C. CALHOUN

1822: MILWAUKEE TRADER VIOLATES THE LAW

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 11B66.]

CHICAGO Aug. 14. 1822

DEAR SIR—I take the opportunity which Mr. Crooks' passing offers to enclose you a copy of a letter addressed to Major Biddle Agent at the Bay by Lieut Webb of the Army who lately passed Milwakee on his way from this Post to the bay.[8] You will recollect that I gave you when lately at Mackinaw some account of the misconduct of James Kinzie who had wintered for several years at Milwakee, for which misconduct I refused him a license last fall. The enclosed copy will show that he and his comrade Clarke still persevere in the most audacious violations of the law. The letter was transmitted

[8] See *ante*, pp. 270, 271.—ED.

to me by Major Biddle & I forward a copy of it to you because I think it important that every Agent should be acquainted with the character & conduct of the traders who are around him and because I am certain that after knowing the circumstances you will refuse to grant a licence to Clark should be apply to you. Could the Agents communicate more frequently and freely with each other respecting the conduct of traders & Indians and all those things which belong to the common interests of the Department, they would be better able to act efficiently, by detecting violations of the law, pointing out offenders, recovering stolen property &c. &c. Whenever any thing comes to my knowledge which I think it may be of advantage to you to know I shall take the liberty of notifying you of it, and shall be obliged to you if you will do the same by me. I hope before long to have a marshal in chase of M[r] James Kinzie. It is necessary that examples should be made and I know of no one who better deserves to be made an example of. With great respect & esteem I am Dear Sir, Your Very Obt. Servt

ALEX. WOLCOTT JR.[*]

[*To George Boyd*]

---

[*] Alexander Wolcott Jr. was born in Connecticut in 1790, and at the age of nineteen was graduated from Yale. In 1820 he received the appointment of Indian agent at Chicago, and en route to his seat of office accompanied Cass on the latter's well-known expedition through Lake Superior and to the headwaters of the Mississippi. For ten years Wolcott performed the duties of his office at Chicago, living in what was known, because of his bachelor estate, as "Cobweb Castle." This social condition he remedied by marrying Ellen Kinzie in 1823. He was justice of the peace and of much importance to the young settlement. His niece, Mrs. John H. Kinzie, speaks in *Wau-Bun*, pp. 83–85, of his death in 1830.—ED.

1822: AMERICAN FUR COMPANY UNJUST

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C128.]

MICHILIMACKINAC 26 Augt 1822

MY DEAR UNCLE[10]—Your favors dated the 30th April 17th May & 3rd June last all came safe to hand in which you acknowledge the receipt of my letter dated 4th Feby last but you do not acknowledge the receipt of the ones I wrote you in Sept. & Oct. last. I do not know how to express myself to you & what to say my situation is such here at present that I have no friends or any person to come forward to try and assist a person in time of Need. there is such a great change in this part of the Country that you could never believe it by hearsay for the worse without being an eye witness to it its as much as Night is from day the difference is so great. I arrived here the 12th Instant and did not find Mr. Crooks here he only arrived the 24th Instant & he is so unwell that I cannot see him to speak to him about you or about money I am nearly distracted about you & I do not know how to do or turn myself about. Mr. Stewart is a very hard man to deal with he likes his own more than enough he has a hard heart we cannot get one Dollar to pay even a balance of a Man's wages from him we are so situated at this present time here. As I wrote you last year they made us form a Company at the Bay but it is a mere Burlesque for to throw us into misery & trouble they pretend it is for our own Good it is true it would be if we had the privilege of others (that is to get our Goods as low as they Could really give them and with a good profit) and at least to get enough to try & clear our Expences & have at least liberty to go where we please but no it is quite the contrary they dont wish I believe to ruin us for fear an opposition might form & come into the Country for Instance I believe I mentioned it to you last year they gave us 23 Pieces Strouds for 5 partners of us to go &

[10] Draft of a letter in the handwriting of John Lawe to his uncle, Jacob Franks.—ED.

trade they oppose us at the Folleavoine [Menominee] on the lake from their house they will not allow us to send to Millwacky as they have a very strong Equipment there that furnishes even on the Rock River at the Portage of the Ouisconsin they oppose us & all down the lower Ouisconsin they have to do with the Indians there & there people from the North comes & stays among our Indians at Lake Shawwenno, River de Loup &c so I leave it for you to Judge what can we do I say oppose it is their own Equipment that they have to oppose as I do not mean people on their own accounts it is their agents they send so far to have more profit where did you ever hear of an instance that people that is on their own account that there should be such heavy restrictions & taxes laid on them that they cannot go where they please but must go where these Gentlemen should please their Invoice is made all in Dollars & Cents & no Sterling here I expect it will soon be in plues [plus] & they take the Peltries low there is 3 or 4 different shares in them & they would after all wish to keep us in a small Circular [region] did you ever hear any thing like this. The Mississippi they are drawing our Indians there so that they would work to fix us completely but you would perhaps say why do you take goods from them when we cannot better ourselves this year we got 34 Pieces Stroud goods Inferior that is for Six of us as Mr. Rouse is this year in the partnership. [John Lawe]

1822: CLOSING THE FACTORIES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 318.]

Department of War August 27th. 1822.

James E. Heron Esq[11]

Sir—I have received your letter of the 19th. Ultimo respecting the buildings occupied by the United States Factor at

[11] James E. Heron was sutler at Fort Dearborn, 1821–23; later he removed to Fort Howard in the same capacity, and finally to far Western posts where he remained in business until 1843.—Ed.

Green Bay. In relation to which I have to inform you that the law of the last session abolishing the Indian Trading establishment confides the closing of the business to the Treasury Department, from which I understand instructions have been given to the respective Agents sent out for that purpose. Of the disposition of the buildings at Green Bay I am unable to inform you, but I presume you will obtain correct information by applying to the Agent sent to that place to close the business there, and who probably is invested with power either to lease or sell.

J. C. Calhoun

Office of Indian Agency Sault Ste. Marie, Septr. 9th 1822.

[Source, same as preceding document; but Indian Office Book 205, Indian Department A, p. 13.]

Office of Indian Agency Sault Ste. Marie, Septr, 9th. 1822.

Sir—Being about to proceed into the Indian country, under Licence granted at this Office, you will use every proper exertion to ascertain that no infraction of the laws takes place, at your wintering station, and report to me, on your return, the facts observed.

Should you find any person on the suth [sic] shore of lake Superior, in the act of trading, or having goods with a design to trade, with the Indian tribes, you are hereby authorized to demand of such person a perusal of his licence, and if he shall refuse the same, and it shall appear to your satisfaction that no licence has been granted to him from the Indian Department, and that he is carrying on such trade in violation of the laws, or, if you shall find any person having in his possession, selling or attempting to introduce into the Indian country, any whiskey or other spirituous liquor, designed for the Indians, you will in all such cases proceed to seize his goods, spirits, boat or canoe, and other effects of such person, together with all furs, skins, or peltries found in his possession, and to transmit the same forthwith to me, that the offender may be proceeded against according to law.

The laws prohibit any foreigner from going into the Indian country for the purposes of trade, either in a principal, or subordinate capacity. Should any such foreigner be found, you are also charged and authorized to seize his goods, peltries and effects in the manner above directed.

You will take the earliest opportunity to communicate to me any information you may possess touching these instructions.

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT[12]

U. S. Indian Agent

To Henry A. Levake.[13]

1822: AN INDIAN CREDITOR

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 12B11.]

Louis Grignon Esq.

DEAR SIR—The Marice de Gro Rat is an Excellent good Hunter & he is not a bad Indian but it is the band of the

---

[12]Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the well-known ethnologist, was a native of New York (1793). Being educated at Middlebury College, Vt., he early turned his attention to science, and in 1817–18 made a geological trip to Missouri and Arkansas. In 1820 he was appointed geologist of Cass's expedition (see *Wis. Hist. Colls.* xiii, *passim*). In 1822 Schoolcraft was appointed Indian agent at Sault Ste. Marie, where he remained ten years, marrying the daughter of John Johnston, the principal trader at that place. In 1832 Schoolcraft was transferred to Mackinac, where he continued his agency for about nine years. After his retirement he devoted himself to writing and research in regard to aboriginal life, and was the author of many books. Many of his conclusions on Indian history have in later days been discredited; nevertheless he did pioneering work of a high order, and his descriptions of contemporary events are useful. He died in Washington, D. C., in 1864.—ED.

[13]Henry A. Levake was witness to a treaty of cession of Michigan lands in 1836. The name was probably originally L'Éveque, a family of French-Canadians with that appellation having lived in Monroe County as early as 1802.—ED.

Soleils[14] that looses him If you make him credit make him go & leave the band de Soleil & go & hunt in the Ouisconsong & then he may do well If he does get his Credit he owes me 3 Plues in Ammunition & this Summer as his Child was Sick & Since *dead* this is the reasons he gives in not paying me he has got a Beaver Trap of mine & I have got a Rat Trap of his he left to be mended Your truly

J. Lawe

Bay Sep 13 1822

1822: A LICENSE

[Source, same as preceding document, but 55B75.]

Indian Agency Green Bay Septr. 17th 1822

To all whom it may concern—Know ye that Augustin Grignon citizen of the United States having given the bonds required by law & by the instructions of the President is hereby authorized to trade with the Indian Tribes on the Fox, Ouisconsin & Mississippi Rivers & their tributary Waters until the 17th day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and twenty three unless this license be sooner revoked. Wm. Whistler Capt.

Actg. I [ndian] Agent.

Fort Howard Green Bay Septr. 17. 1822

Names of Interpreters & Men

Foreigners: Pierre Turcotte, Francois Turcotte, Isaac Jaque, F. Martin, J. B. Brunett Interpreter, Louis Cardinal, Etienne Denege, Julian Laviolette, F. Boileau, J. Villeneuve, A. Robert, Louis Peltier, Alex Pothier, Pierish Grignon Jun. Interpreter.

Citizens of the U. State[s]: Louis Beaupré Junr, Francois Beaupré.

Endorsed: Licence of 1822

---

[14] Soleil was a Menominee chief who visited Dickson in 1814; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 297. It was probably his band that ranged southward from Green Bay as far as Menominee township in Waukesha County. Possibly Lake Keesus in the neighboring township of Merton takes its name from this chief, for Keesus is Menominee for the sun (*soleil* in French).—Ed.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 12B46.]

G. Bay 14 Oct. 1822

Dear Sir—Please Send me your last years Licence So that I may Copy it off to give to Capt. Whistler as his Clerk is so busy that he has no time to make them out. & I will take him it to morrow morning to get Signed & at the same time he will be making out the Bonds Your truly

J. Lawe

Mr. L. Grignon Present.

1822: FUR-TRADERS' TRANSPORTATION

[Source, same as preceding document, but 12B18. Translated from the French.]

Prairie du chien 19 Sepr 1822

Sir and friend—You will receive this by the barges that I send to get the rest of the pieces that are in your Warehouse. I sent you also 23 Packs that I beg you to forward to Mr. Robert Stewart by the first opportunity. I have written Mr. Whitney to procure for the men the following provisions, 3 barrels of flour, 1 barrel of pork and six minots of peas, thinking that he is able to procure these at a cheaper rate than you. If he cannot I must beg you to procure them, as well as four pairs of childrens shoes leather or morocco according to the enclosed measure, a womans Crochet hook at the Sutler's, some Ink and four livres of good Tobacco. I send you by Leon Poncenville $13.00 for this purchase. Fifty canoes of folle avoine [Menominee] arrived here today, so it is reported. I do not know whether it is true. the greater part go down the Missisipi.

No other news except that the opposition is very strong having furnished $72,000 worth of merchandise to the Savages I am your Servant Jos Rolette

N. B. Please send the two clearances as well as the list of men who have worked that I may pay them.

Mr. Jacques Portier Senr. Bay verte.

1822: WINTERING ARRANGEMENTS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 12B93. Translated from the French][15].

SIR—I had thought of going to Makina but the C B Company Continuing, I find myself relieved. I am bound to winter here in the capacity of a clerk without Wages, and a little against my interests, to say nothing of those of the Company. The changes in the Company have brought about difficulties that are not yet all defined. Mr. Rouse and Monsieur Aug. Grignon have left for the Misissipi; As it appears that it is they that you have designed therefor. Mr. L. Grignon returns to the Wisconsing on the Same recommendation. Mr. Lawe remains here, also designated. Whether it is in Conformity with your ideas or not, my offers to go and winter have been badly received. I do not complain of that, once embarked one must go to the harbor. I do not know how I stand with you? I should be much pleased to receive your Accounts! not that I have any hope of paying them, and it is without doubt due to compassion in you that you do not press me by sending them to me. I wish that Charity might extend to releasing them. I expect on the first, the Barges of Mr. Rolette by which I may have conveyed the letters that you have addressed to me, Not being able to do better.

The gentleman that you have referred to me secured a passage with Mr. Rouse, with which he seemed well satisfied. I communicated your recommendation to Mr. Rouse who will be pleased to honor it.

I have just learned through Mr. Stuart that Mr. Crooks has been obliged to leave Makina in order to re-establish his health. I fear that he has waited too long, the extraordinary fatigues that he has endured in his long Journeys have of necessity

[15] This letter is not dated, but from internal evidence we judge that it belongs to the early autumn of 1822, and the arrangements indicated are for that year.—ED.

worn upon his strength, and he ought to repair it by prompt rest and great care. If you have occasion to write, assure him of my best wishes for the establishment of his Health.

I do not say anything to you of the Company. I leave that to those who are conducting it. I only observe to you that if Hunting is Poor, or to speak more accurately, if there is no tranquility in the Misissipy, it is probable that we shall make very bad returns, for the Savages of this neighborhood are entirely lost through Whiskey. The Wisconsing is poor, and the best Savages of those parts, seek the Misissipi.

We expect here by the first boats an opposition caused by your house. Mr. Robert Irwin is Agent therefor. Such are his plans! He will not leave any advantage so they say, because of the low price at which he can sell. We have here several newcomers who have traded with the puants [Winnebago] and one party of the folles [Menominee] for the division of their lands. The ancient dwellers have been invited in the name of the Government to take part in a treaty, promises and threats have been put forth, so I am told.[16] Some say that it is the result of the Connection of Mr. Pierre Grignon with the Minister Williams.[17] It may be so although I Compare it to the difficulty of the Government in giving us the titles to our possessions. I augur ill therefrom and I consider it as a labyrinth from which I find no way out, without sacrificing everything.

Sir I have Written you a very long letter about a few things

---

[16] This refers to the second treaty made in 1822 by the Menominee with the New York Indians. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 423–429; viii, pp. 337, 338.—Ed.

[17] This is Eleazer Williams, the so-called "lost dauphin" of France. Much has appeared concerning him in previous volumes of the *Collections*. See *Id*, xiv, p. 400, note and references therein cited; also *Id*, ii, *passim;* vii, pp. 322–369. Williams's claims to the dauphinship are proved false by William W. Wight, "Eleazer Williams—his forerunners, himself," in Parkman Club *Papers*, i, pp. 133–203. For the relation between Pierre Grignon and Williams, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 242, 243.—Ed.

that may interest you. I would not permit myself to do so in the time of your occupation, but as I believe you are on a vacation, I think you may find this not troublesome. Receive the testimony of my consideration, and believe me with honor Your very humble & obedient Servant

Jq. Porlier

Endorsed: Agent for the A. F. C.

1822: DISPOSAL OF FACTORY GOODS

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 161, Letter Book 4.]

Detroit, Oct. 4. 1822

George Graham

Sir—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 13 Ulto. and 18th. Ulto., together with their several enclosures.

It is hopeless to tender to the Indians goods in lieu of the specie annuities which are due to them. The attempt has been made here and elsewhere, and has uniformly proved unsuccessful. The treaty stipulations on this subject, so far as they are within my personal knowledge, were formed at the particular request of the Indians, and I think they will inflexibly adhere to them. Various causes combine to produce this determination.

1. The opinion, which has been generally entertained that the goods in the U. S. factories are inferior to those sold by the private traders.

2d. All those, who are in immediate contact with the Indians, are in a greater or less degree interested in the prosecution of the Indian Trade. The influence of these persons will of course [be] exerted to prevent the recurrence of a system, which would diminish the expenditures of the Indians.

3d. To the larger Tribes, such as the Potawatomies, the Chippewas and Ottawas the sums paid as annuities are entirely

disproportioned to the number of the individuals, who are to receive them. At the last distribution to the Chippewas, $1.25 was the amount, which each person received. And I presume that in neither of these tribes would the individual share exceed two dollars. An equitable division of goods into sums as small as this would be either impossible, or, utterly useless. There is no difficulty in dividing the money, and this view of the subject will furnish you with a powerful reason in favour of the choice which the Indians have made.

Under these circumstances, there is such a moral certainty of disappointment, that another effort to procure the assent of the Indians, to the payment of their annuities in goods instead of specie, is not worth making. Each of the Agents in conformity with instructions from the War department was directed in June last, to make this proposition. It has resulted as might have been foreseen, in an entire failure.

There is little prospect of selling the goods on hand at the Green Bay and Chicago factories at those places. There are few persons at Chicago except those in publick employment, and the small population at Green Bay are supplied from other quarters and on better terms.

Those persons, who are engaged in the labourious prosecution of the Indian trade, always receive goods upon credit. The capitalists, who embark in this business, supply with outfits the small traders, who penetrate the Indian Country in every direction. The former do not come in contact with the Indians. Their principal depot, in this part of the Country is at Michillimackinac, where the peltries are collected, and whence the goods diverge to every point.

The traders arrive in the Indian Country between August and October, at which time the Indians disperse to their hunting camps. In the spring, the peltries which are collected are brought in. The adventure of the preceding year is paid for, and a credit obtained for the subsequent one.

It will at once be perceived, that these traders are unable to pay for the goods they procure, until these goods are sold; and

consequently, that they could make no purchases at the factories upon any terms, which would be deemed safe for the United States.

Besides each trader must be supplied with an assortment, which should comprehend every article which want or caprice has rendered necessary for the Indians. These assortments cannot now be obtained at either of the factories in this quarter.

It is my opinion that the goods at Green Bay and Chicago after their arrival at this place should be sold at Auction upon a reasonable credit, and the purchase money secured by good endorsed paper.

A sale for cash, in the existing state of things would lead to a sacrifice of the property, because the competition would be comparatively small. By a proper credit the articles sold would bring a fair price, and there would be no difficulty in receiving the amount beyond the probability of failure.

A similar disposition should be made of goods, which have already been sent here from those factories. I have heretofore stated to the Secretary of War, in my letter of [blank in MS.] that the wretched quality of these goods rendered it improper to distribute them as presents to the Indians, in lieu of the annual appropriation for that object. The Factors were directed to forward to this place such articles, as were not suitable for the St. Peters trade, and well have they complied with this injunction. Such a collection of wretched goods was never seen in the country. I cannot describe their quality to you in terms sufficiently strong. Many of the bales were never opened till their arrival here, and they were doubtless purchased at the most exhausted period of our markets. Considerably more than half of the amount consists of these coarse miserable blankets, admirably calculated to admit the rain and cold.

A blanket is the most essential article of an Indians equipment. It is frequently his house and it is always the most important part of his dress. The heavy Mackinac blankets are almost impervious to the rain, and are universally worn by the

Indians in this quarter. They are large enough to cover an Indian completely.

An open coarse small blanket is almost useless to an Indian. No difference in price can make him accept it in preference to one which he has found by experience suited to his wants. By a deduction of fifty instead of 15 pr. ct., it will not exclude the rain and cold, nor will an addition to the number effect his object. He must carry a much heavier load, and the first rain will penetrate through the coarse texture of five or six of these as easily as one.

How then, under these circumstances, can I distribute these articles to the Indians in presents, as evidences of the paternal feelings of the Government of the United States towards them? To supply the most pressing wants of this wretched people, and to discharge a part of the great moral debt we owe them appropriations for these annual gratuitous distributions are doubtless made by Congress. They are now very small and it therefore becomes those charged with their expenditure to apply them in the most prudential manner. But certainly it would be better to withhold all supplies of this kind from them, rather than present such articles as would excite disadvantageous comparisons between them and the firm substantial well selected goods, which are given to them by the British Government and sold by the private traders.

I have entered into this long explanation to satisfy you, that I feel no prejudices upon this subject. Certainly my views are sufficiently catholick to prompt me to promote the interests of the Government, to whatever department those interests may be confided. And I am certain that my opinions are not in the least influenced by any thing, which has been said on the subject of the Indian trade office.

Prejudices may have been felt, as you intimate in your letter to Mr. Crawford,[18] by some of the Indian Agents, but I trust not in any degree to prevent their cordial coöperation in any

[18] William Harris Crawford, secretary of the treasury.—Ed.

measure calculated to promote the just interests of the United States, or the welfare of the Indians. I am etc.

[Lewis Cass]

1822: INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING LICENSES

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 346.]

Depmt of War, 23 Octr. 1822.

His Excelly. Lewis Cass, Detroit.

Sir—In the execution of that part of the act passed at the last session of Congress relative to licenses to trade with the Indians, should licenses be granted by yourself or any of the Indian Agents within your superintendency to trade with Indian tribes within the superintendency of Genl. Clark, at St. Louis, which includes all the agencies on the Mississippi and Missouri, it will be proper that the General should be regularly apprized thereof for the information of himself and the agents under his control. You will therefore direct the Indian Agents within your Superintendency to give immediate notice to Genl. Clark of all such licenses with the name and description of the persons to whom they may be issued, and the number, name, and description of the persons (if any) who will be employed by them respectively in the transaction of the business with the Indians.

As there is nothing in the late act to which the regulations adopted under the act of 1816, in relation to the employment of Foreign boatman and interpreters and communicated to you on the 25th of March 1818, are repugnant, they will be considered as still in force, and the American trader may be permitted to avail himself of the services of Foreigners on the terms and conditions therein specified. I have etc.

J. C. Calhoun

P. S. The within order has been given at the request of Genl. Clark believing it would facilitate his duties with respect

to trade with the Indians. Should any order to him to furnish you with similar information be of any advantage to you, it will be given upon an intimation from you to that effect.

1822: AMERICAN FUR COMPANY TO GREEN BAY COMPANY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS. 12B72.]

Mackinac Oct. 27 1822

Dear Sir—I received Your esteemed favor of 22^{d} ins^{t}. and have to inform you, that I have in no instance, presumed to dictate in any manner whatever, to the Gentlemen of the G. B. C^{o}. regarding the management of the Concerns of that C^{o}; and far from thinking that your offers to go into the interior should have been rejected, I am satisfied too many of you have remained at the Bay, admitting the Business of the Post to be much more extensive & profitable than from accounts it really is. I have never even hinted a wish that M^{r}. L. Grignon should go to Ouisconsin, or any where else; and I should have expected more liberality at the hands of those Gent: than to have insinuated any thing of the kind. It would have been ignorant presumption in me to have attempted to interfere in your affairs, (who have so long known the Country).

The Packs per the "Pontiac" have come to hand in good order. I am sorry to find that your new Indians are likely to give you trouble, which I always expected; you had better keep them in their proper place, from the beginning.

A Sketch of your a/c: is herewith sent you; and as no final Settlement of the Green Bay Outfit has yet taken place, you have that a/c: also.

I believe the *house* of which Mr. Irwin is Said to be Agent, will create more noise than effect: the Lord knows the trade is already bad enough; but if more fools will come, why we must welcome them. The draft of your Son shall be honored when presented.

I hope M^r. Lawe &c: will be very Cautious to whom Credits are made in the *Magazin Francois*—for that business is generally very bad; as the debts can never be noticed. D^r Sir I am in haste, yours with much esteem & consideration

ROBERT STUART

Your package of Letters I will forward per first good opp^y.

R. S.

Pray write me fully as often as convenient.

Jacques Portier, Esquire. Green Bay per Schooner "Superior."

1822: LIQUOR IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Miscellaneous Files, 1801–24.]

HEAD QURS: FORT CRAWFORD November 15, 1822.

SIR—I had the honor some time since to receive your letter dated the 12 June last; enclosing a law which passed at the last Session of Congress, relative to trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, requiring me to carry it strictly into execution, on the frontier within the limits of my Command. With a view to the performance of this duty, I have caused the Boats of Traders, passing this place, to be strictly searched, and should I have any suspicion, or receive any information, that ardent spirits are carried to any trading establishment, in the Indian Country, within the vicinity of my Command, I will send and cause those establishments, to be strictly examined. I am not, however, certain as to the construction, which the law ought to receive, on some points, with regard to which I must ask your instructions.

One of these points is, whether the people who reside at this place, have a right to pass and repass freely through the Indian Country; to bring ardent spirits to the place of their residence; and to keep it in their possession, either for their own use or for trade and commerce.

If this were a Military Cession as it was once thought to be,

there would exist no difficulty on this point; for the Military Commandant, having the exclusive controul over it, would adopt such measures, as he might deem necessary to prevent the evasion of the laws. But this is now a disputed point; and it may be necessary for me, to enter into an explanation at some length, in order to give you a full view of the subject.

It will be recollected by you, that this post is situated on a Prairie called Le Prarie du Chien, near the confluence of the Ousconsin and Mississippi Rivers, in the Territory of Michigan. This Prarie stretches above the Ousconsin along the Mississippi for nine or ten miles; and is about two miles in breadth: on this Prarie, at a very early period the British Traders from Canada, formed a small village and settlement. The population at present, consists chiefly of French; and a mixture of French and Indians, one portion of the population is engaged in the Indian trade, principally as Clerks, Interpreters and Engageors; and another portion, in the cultivation of small farms in different parts of the Prarie. Their numbers I cannot exactly ascertain; but they are able to muster a full Company of Malitia.

Besides vegitables of almost every kind they raise wheat more than sufficient for their own consumption. They possess horses cattle and other domestic animals in considerable numbers. Those who now hold houses or lands occupied or cultivated as far back as the year 1794, claim to have a good title to them, under some article of Mr. Jays treaty with Great Britain. Commissioners have been appointed to investigate those claims, who, I am told have made their Report; and forwarded it to Washington: upon examining that Report I think it will be found that these claims are not very numerous; and lie principally in the Prarie; and if they be confirmed, unless they be made to run into the woodland, which borders the Prarie, they will be of no great value to the Inhabitants; for otherwise, they will not be able to obtain wood for fuel or any other purpose, without trespassing on the Indian or public lands.

In the year 1816 by a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, concluded at Portage des Saux in the then Territory of Missori these tribes ceded to the United States for military purposes, three leagues square, to be located at or near the mouth of the Ousconsin. In the same year this post was established, distant about four miles above the Ousconsin; and in the year 1818, by an order, of the Commandant of the 9th Military Department, the session above mention[ed] was surveyed and laid off; and includes the whole of the Prarie, on which this Post is situated, together with the Village and Settlements.

In the ensuing year, 1819, the Governor of the Michigan Territory, by his proclamation established a County in this portion of his Government, called Crawford County, comprehending all the country to which the Indian title was extinguished. Courts were about the same time organized, who claim and exercise civil jurisdiction, over the whole of the Military cession at this place. I wish it to be understood that I speak of the treaty with the Sacs and Foxes from recollection: and of the proclamation from information; for I cannot procure here either of these documents.

The Governors of Territories are vested with the power to establish Counties, in any portion of the Territories, over which they preside, where the Indian title has been extinguished. [Whether] On that ground, the Governor of the Michigan Territory, proceeded in the exercise of this power, at this place I know not; but it is justified on the ground, that long before the existence of the Military Cession at this place, the Indian title was as much extinct at it as it was at Detroit or at St. Louis or at any other antient settled place. I may add, if my memory does not deceive me, it was not necessary, according to the Treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, that this Military Cession, should have been laid off in the manner it has been done. It might have been located on the South Side of the Ousconsin; or on the West Side of the Mississippi, over against the Ousconsin; and I should think that it might yet

be removed, if the Indian title was extinct before it was located at this place.

Having stated the case, as fairly as I was able, the question recurs on the right, claimed by the people of Crawford County, or Le Prarie du Chien. These people contend that they have a right to keep ardent spirits in their possession either for their own use, or for the purposes of trade; as there exists no law which prohibits them from doing so, and that the law which you have forwarded to me, and directed me to execute, applies only to the Indian country, and that it cannot be enforced here, even upon an Indian Trader, as the Indian title, at this place, has been long since extinct. They also contend that the right of egress and ingress, together with the liberty to convey away, or bring in, any species of merchandize, they may think proper, even ardent spirits, is one wise parable from their situation, and of which they cannot be deprived—at least have not been deprived by any law or regulation. These rights they not only contend for; but habitually exercise. Within six months past large quantities of ardent spirits have been brought to this place and stored; and it is not only to be feared, that the Indians who resort to this place, will be able to obtain this article in any quantity; but that it will be introduced extensively among the neighboring tribes of Indians. This place is almost in the heart of the Indian Country; and cannot be reached, in any direction, without passing through an Indian Country, for near two hundred miles by the route of the Fox and Ousconsin Rivers; for upwards of three hundred miles [by the Mississippi]. It is resorted to by some powerful tribes of Indians.

The next point I wish to submit to your decision is, whether the law, of which I have been speaking, applies to any person except licensed Indian Traders. I am decidedly of opinion it does not; for where ever the law is violated, it directs that the bonds shall be put in suit, and licenses cancelled. It is true if any person but a licensed Indian Trader, enters the Indian Country, and attempts to trade with the Indians, his goods are liable to forfeiture; and he himself, to fine and im-

prisonment (See Section 8, Act of 1802). But I believe that any American Citizen, not connected with the Indian trade, may enter or pass through the Indian Country, with any article of merchandize he may chose, ardent spirits among the rest without violating any law whatever. It may be asked, what business could such persons have in the Indian Country. It may be answered, that it is one way in which the law is evaded. Traders themselves, will be cautious, how they introduce ardent spirits into the Indian Country; but they may employ others to introduce it for them, keeping their employers out of view. Persons, who, it was known, intended to carry on a trade with the Indians, have postponed taking out licenses for this purpose, until they had reached this place, in order that they might bring ardent spirits so far with them. I am convinced, from long observation, that the only way in which the object of this excellent law, can be completely effected, will be to prohibit all persons indiscriminately, from carrying ardent spirits into the Indian Country on any pretext whatever; and if such a law were made, or regulation adopted, the proper points for carrying it into execution as regards this country, will be at Green Bay on lake Michigan, and Fort Armstrong on the Mississippi; for at these points the Indian Traders, coming to this quarter, first enter the Indian Country. I will remark, enpassant, that it is a melancholy truth, that no law or regulation, will be sufficient to prevent the Indians residing immediately on our borders, from obtaining ardent spirits in any quantities they may desire.

It is also said unless ardent spirits be actually found among the stores and packages of Indian Traders their goods cannot be seized; though the clearest evidence should exist that they had introduced ardent spirits into the Indian Country.

I shall only remark farther on this law, that the Second Section refers to the 21st section of the Act of 1802, by which the President of the United States, is authorized, to adopt such measures from time to time, as he may deem expedient, to prevent the sale and distribution of ardent spirits among the

different Indian Tribes. If any regulations have been adopted under the authority vested in this section, I should think it highly important, that the officers directed to inforce the laws, should be furnished with them. And here permit me to remark, that it is possible, that the President might remove all the difficulties, attending the execution of the laws, to the introduction of spiritous liquors among the Indian Tribes, by a regulation adopted under the authority, given by the 21st Section of the Act of 1802 before mentioned.

One more remark and I am done with this law. I shall not deem myself authorised, to interfere with persons carrying ardent spirits to the lead mines on Fever River. These mines are about one hundred miles below this place, and are much resorted to by the Sacs and Foxes and Winnebagoes. It is to be apprehended that these Indians will be extensively supplied with ardent spirits at this place, unless the Government place the lessees of these mines under some very strict regulations. It must, however, be mentioned that it is much to the credit of Colonel [James] Johnston that during the last summer, he formed a society at these mines, to prevent the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians; and that the measures of this Society had the effect of supressing in a great measure, this discreditable traffic at that place.[19]

I could have wished, that instead of stating all these difficulties, I could have prevented a drop of Spirituous Liquors from being brought to this quarter of the Indian Country, for I highly approve both the policy and humane spirit of this law;

---

[19] Col. James Johnson (1774–1826), a Kentuckian who had served in the War of 1812–15, took out a government lease in April, 1822, for the right to smelt lead. During the ensuing summer, he brought to the Galena region a considerable party of miners and prospectors. He purchased the historic "Buck lead" of an Indian of that name; but after two summers' work, finding it unprofitable, abandoned the enterprise. For a brief biographical sketch see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, pp. 274, 275. Daniel Whitney sent a boat-load of goods from Green Bay to the mines in the autumn of 1822; see *Ibid*, p. 180.—Ed.

and I should be glad to lend my aid in carrying so wholesome a law into execution. I believe, however, if I had acted otherwise than I have done, I should have involved myself in difficulties, without doing much service to the Government.

I have dwelt longer on this subject than I should have done, if ardent spirits had not been introduced into the Indian Country, in such considerable quantities, that I began to fear, unless I entered into a full explanation of the motives of my conduct, I might be charged with a neglect of duty. I have the honor etc.

W. Morgan
Lt. Colo. 5th Infy.

Maj. Genl. Gaines, Comg, etc.

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 365.]

Depmt of War 6th Decemr. 1822.

Honble Wm. H. Crawford Secy Treasury

Sir—You will see by the enclosed documents that the Collector at Michilimackinac has granted permits for certain boats having on board whiskey to pass from that post to Prairie-du-chien; and as it is intended by this Department to give orders to carry into effect fully the provisions of the Act passed at the last Session of Congress, to amend the act of trade and intercourse of 1802, which relate to the introduction of ardent Spirits into the Indian Country, I wish first to ascertain whether any and what instructions have been given by the Treasury Department to the Collectors upon the Subject.

I will thank you to return the papers, with the information requested, as soon as convenient. I have etc.

J. C. Calhoun.

1823: BRITISH INFLUENCE CEASES

[Source, same as preceding document, but Cass Letter Books 1823, No. 1.]

PRAIRIE DU CHIEN 3rd Jany. 1823

SIR—Your verry esteemed favor of 7th April and Septr. 14th. has been received, and note their contents. I have undertaken to prevent the Indians from this quarter to visit Drummond Island and it is with Satisfaction I have to Say none from this place have deviated from the advices given to them on this Subject and must Say that I, sincerely believe, British influence is done away with [for] the Indians residing in the vicinity of this place, as to the queries, or rather vocabulary that you make mention of, I have forwarded it last September by some officers of the United States Army my inexperience in the English Language prevents me to correspond as often as I consider it my duty. However during this long Winter I shall endeavour to procure a Copious vocabulary of the Winebago Tongue, thier Manners, Customs and Religious Ceremonies as well as relates to the Sioux, Sacs, and foxes.[20]

Peace and Harmony now exists with the Indians, altho' large war parties are on Contemplation between the Sacs and Foxes on one part and the Sioux's of the plains on the other part for Next Spring. Unless the Government thinks proper to interfere, I am afraid it will be Severe for those poor ignorant Savages—and no doubt some other tribes will engage—if so, this River will be the Theatre of warfare and no doubt that Commerce will be injured and Some poor innocent people the victim

I Shall do all in my power to obviate the evil as far as my means will go—but the Sum allowed for this Agency when So many Indians visit is not Sufficient. It even requires in

[20] Boilvin's Winnebago vocabulary was utilized in Gallatin's "Indian Languages" in Amer. Antiq. Soc. *Transactions*, ii. The original manuscript thereof has apparently been lost.—ED.

Speaking to the Indians Tobacco, Powder etc and a few Blankets to Convey any weight with advice given them With the highest Respect I am Dear Sir Your Ob: Servant

N. Boilvin

To His Excelly. Lewis Cass Governor Michigan Territory Detroit.

1823: WINTERING PARTNERS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Libaray. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 13B12. Translated from the French.]

Upper Oisconsin 26 February 1823

Dear Sir—On my return from the Bay to the Portage of the Oisconsin the 26th Instant I received your Favor of the 25 of last month, very pleased to know that you enjoy perfect health. I was not surprised at what you said of Rolette for He did very well Except in Sending to the Black River and the Portage; that did much harm here from the low price that he made. The Savages obtained their necessities for a few peltries and would not Hunt afterwards. When I left the Bay your family were all well. Our friend Pierre my brother has been very ill since autumn with an abscess that broke in his Stomach It is very doubtful whether we shall see him this Spring. This is not the report of the Doctor.

I have seen the Loup noir [Black Wolf] since you sent me his Credit.[21] He has given nothing and must pass by the Mis-

[21] Black Wolf (Shoank-tshunk-siap) was a well-known Winnebago chief whose village was located on the western shore of Lake Winnebago a few miles south of the city of Oshkosh, on a point still bearing his name. In 1828 this village numbered 180 persons. Black Wolf was on Dickson's expedition (1813) against Fort Meigs, and he also accompanied McKay's (1814) against Prairie du Chien. This chief was likewise active in the Black Hawk War, 1832; signed the treaties of 1827, 1828, 1829, and probably that of 1846; and is supposed to have died at the Fox-Wisconsin Portage about 1847. His portrait was painted in 1827 at the Butte des Morts treaty by J. O. Lewis. Mrs. Kinzie described him (in *Wau-Bun*, p. 64) as having a surly, lowering face with a shock of black hair.—Ed.

sipy. He told Petail that he had 20 Deer skins 1 Otter 1 large Beaver two Fisher toward the Beginning of January. Accept my best Compliments &c. Very Respectfully your very obedient Servant

L. GRIGNON

Mr. Louis Rouse Trader Upper Missipy

1823: CLOSING THE FACTORIES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 397.]

DEPMT OF WAR 6th March 1823.

His Excellcy Lewis Cass Detroit

SIR—The arrangement proposed by the Treasury Department which is referred to in the enclosed papers, for the disposition of a portion of the Goods at the several factories, has been acceded to by this Department; and you will give the necessary instructions to the Indian Agent at Green Bay to carry the same into effect, restricting his purchases to such goods only as are of a suitable kind and quality for Indian purposes, and which can be had at the Factory near him on as advantageous terms as elsewhere, and to an amount not exceeding in any event that which, according to the most moderate and economical annual allowance at his agency for this purpose, will be sufficient for the years 1823 and 1824. The amount of the purchases made by the Agent will be considered as constituting a part of the sums that may be allotted to him for his expenses in each of those years, and will be deducted therefrom in due proportion. Should any goods be required for Indian purposes at Detroit, or at those Agencies which have no factory near them, you are authorized to take them of the Factory Agents after their removal to Detroit, under the restrictions above mentioned.

To enable the Department to retain a sufficient amount out of the sum assigned for the expenses of your superintendency to meet the drafts which may be drawn on it by the Indian

Agent or yourself, in pursuance of this arrangement, you will furnish as soon as practicable, an estimate of the probable amount of goods that will be purchased of the Factory for Indian purposes within your superintendency. Those purchased, at the request of the Indian for annuities, you will pay for out of the funds which will be remitted to you for the payment of the annuities.

The Department has no objection to the arrangement which it is proposed to make with the Indian Agents for the collection of the debts that may be due to the Factories; and should the Agent at Green Bay find it convenient to undertake that duty, he is at liberty to do so, on the terms and in the mode which he and the factory agent may agree upon; with this understanding, however, that he is to look to the Treasury Department only for any additional compensation to which he may consider himself entitled for the performance of the said duty. I have etc. etc.

J. C. Calhoun

1823: DEATH OF PIERRE GRIGNON

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 13B27. Translated from the French.]

Portage du Oisconsin 3 April 1823

Dear Auguste—I suppose that you received my letter of the 26th of February in regard to our brother Pierre. The Sad news of his death ought not to Surprise you. The end came the 4 of last March. I enclose the letters of Mr. Porlier and of Fily which will inform you of his Sufferings before his Death.

I had had the News from the Bay before these Letters. It was much Feared that this would Give our dear mother a bad turn. I left her the 14th of February very wretched.

I believe it will be best for you to go to the Bay as soon as your affairs permit but if you have opportunity before you go to the Bay and you think that I can serve you, Command me and instruct me. I am always ready. Notice that you must

give me your power, that is to say appoint me your Agent. I take upon myself to advise our brother Paulite to continue your Work and to neglect nothing &c.

As for the affairs on the Oisconsin They are not good, the Savages have not made much Hunt and the few peltries have been Traded at a high price and [MS. torn] badly Paid. I leave here with 40 Packs badly assorted. If I had not had provisions I believe that my Savages would have died of hunger this winter. They have ruined me in provisions and we are at present without supplies. If you can borrow a little Maize and flour to bring back to the Bay you will do well to bring some, the price of flour at the Bay is $8.00 a barrel, of Maize $1.50 the minot cash I will try and join you at La Bute des Morts as I Desire to see you. Nothing more dear brother than to wish you Health and Prosperity Your brother and friend

L. Grignon

[Source, same as preceding document, but 13B31.]

Prairie des Chien April 8th 1823

Dear Sir—I recd by La Rose the news of the death of Pierre Grignon the Agent of your Company which give me a little uneasiness knowing that the Am. Fur Company have written Mr. Rouse respecting the Packs they will make in the Missisipi and have also given Rolette instructions to make them offers for the Packs, and he says that the Am. Fur Compy will get the packs and when got I will get none of the returns, whether he says this merely to alarm me or not I do not know, but I have Confidence in you that you will not so far as you have a voice suffer a thing of that kind to take place, in fact it was to you that I offered the goods then thinking that you were going to the Missisipi and that I was to deal with you, do not understand me that I have any reason to believe that will be the Case and Indeed I do not think so but a man is much interested he is willing enough to believe any Idle story that Effects his in-

terest, as a thing of that kind would much affect mine being nearly half of my returns as I was obliged to curtail many of my outfits for this. Arriving so late at St. Louis Mr. Bostwick had disposed of the most part of his goods Except to fulfil my former order. My outfits in St Peters are doing none too well I have an outfit among the Foxes that has done well and I will make a few packs at this place. I do not know [how] Messrs Grignon & Rouse are doing, they have a great deal of opposition. I should be glad to see you here this spring at all events as you may want to make some further arrangements for goods. we have no news that Can be interesting to you trade is generally bad. please give my Compliments to Mr. Porlier and believe me to be Your friend and Humble Servt.

J. H. Lockwood

John Lawe Esq. Green Bay, Michigan.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 13B54.]

Green Bay 14th May 1823

Dear Sir—Two hours after you left this the News came of a vessel being in Sight, which was found to be true, it was the Schooner Tyger, that left McKinac Sunday morning, there is another Vessel expected in very soon the Schooner Minerva. I enquired if there was any letters for you but there was none. Mr. M. Dousmans Son is going on to the Prarie du Chien to settle & close up his brothers business there, as the two Companys has joined together, so we are as badly Situated as we was before. I received a Letter from Major Biddle giving me the information of the Law that has passed last winter concerning the Old & new land Claims, & how to act in regard of the Claims that comes in 1812 which I see that there will be but a poor chance for us as there is that Clause of being Citizens of the U. S. at that time which will go against us but it cannot be helped. There was a Letter come to the address of the Late Peter Grignon agent, so we opened it & I herewith send you a

Copy of it which you will See there is nothing favorable for us in it. Mr. Stuart also wrote to Mr. Porlier mentioning that he had heard of the Death of Mr. Grignon after he wrote the Letter & if it was true, to receive the Calico & Tobacco from on board of the *Tyger* I am [at] a loss to say what is a going to become of us I see there is nothing favourable for us so far in haste wishing you a speedy Return I remain Your friend

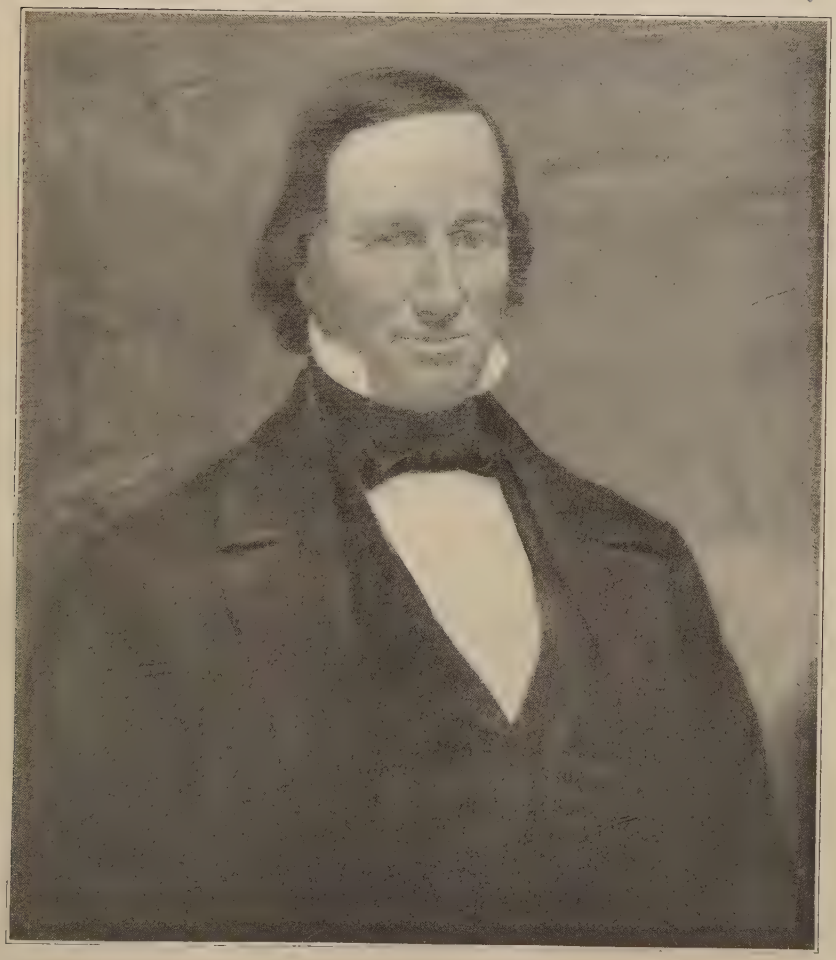
J. Lawe

N. B. Mr. H. Douseman[22] the bearer of this wishes to get a Tent, if he could to go to the Prarie, & back here. I do not know on what Conditions he wants to get it if it is to borrow it or hire it, I can not Say—but I believe it is to borrow if you can spare him one. Remember me to Augustin & Charles & Mr. Rouse & the rest of the persons that enquire after me.

Mr. Louis Grignon Bute de Mort per favor of Mr. H. Dousman

---

[22] Hercules L. Dousman was born at Mackinac in 1800 and sent to New Jersey for education. At the age of eighteen he entered a mercantile house in New York, where he served as clerk. Returning to Mackinac in 1820, he aided his father in business until 1826, when he removed permanently to Prairie du Chien and there became agent of the American Fur Company. He was for a time a partner of Rolette, and upon the latter's death succeeded to his business, marrying Rolette's widow in 1844. Dousman was a man of large business capacity and witnessed and aided the transformation of Wisconsin from a fur-trading to a modern community. He was averse to holding public office, but acted locally in the militia and as justice of the peace. He was a Democrat in politics, but as a Union man supported the federal government in the War of Secession. He died soon after its close (Sept. 12, 1868), at Prairie du Chien.—Ed.



HERCULES L. DOUSMAN (1800–1868)

From oil portrait by Conrad W. Heyd, in possession of the Society

1823: SEIZURE OF LIQUOR

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Letter Book E, Aug. 1820–Oct. 1823, p. 448.]

DEPMT OF WAR 3 June 1823.

Colonel N. Pinckney, Commanding Fort Howard, Green Bay.[23]

SIR—Your letter of the 24th august last relative to the execution of the provision of the Act of the 6th May 1822 to prevent the introduction of Ardent Spirits into the Indian Country was duly received; and with the accompanying papers was referred to the Secretary of the Treasury. They have been recently returned with a letter from him, of which a copy is enclosed for your information.

I concur in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury that the clearance of the Collector does not exempt the Spirits from seizure under the act of the 6 May 1822, where it is applicable to them.

I have requested the Secretary of the Treasury to instruct the Collector at Mackinac to furnish the commanding officers of posts and Indian Agents on the route and at the place of destination with certificates of the quantity of spirits which may be taken by the several traders from his Office through the Indian Country; which as he suggests will probably, enable the Officers or Agents to detect any sale which may have been made contrary to the provision of the Act before mentioned. I have etc.

J. C. CALHOUN

[23] For a sketch of the career of Col. Ninian Pinkney, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 216. He was commandant at Green Bay, 1821–23.—ED.

1823: PERMISSION TO INTRODUCE LIQUOR ON LAKE SUPERIOR

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Book 161, Letter Book 4.]

DETROIT June 10, 1823

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esqr. Indian Agent. Sault Ste. Marie.

SIR—It has been represented to me by persons engaged in the Indian trade west of Lake Superior, and in the vicinity of the boundary line, where they are brought into competition with the traders of the Hudson's company that the want of whiskey to destribute among the Indians has rendered their trade a disadvantageous one, and that without some change in the present system this trade must be abandoned. They state that instances have occurred in which provisions have been taken by the Indians, five hundred miles directly from their posts to those of the Hudson's Bay company in order to procure ardent spirits.

Under these circumstances, as it is a question between abandoning an important portion of our trade, and that too in a quarter where the enterprize of our traders is but beginning, and where it is highly desirable that their influence should be extended, and permitting the introduction of whiskey in such limited quantities as may be deemed necessary for the purchase of provisions only; I think it best, that the latter alternative should be adopted.

I do not perceive in the laws, nor in the regulations any absolute prohibition against this course. The act of Congress passed in 1822, on the subject of Indian affairs, refers in its prohibition against the introduction of whiskey into the Indian Country, to the previous act where full authority is given to the President to restrain this branch of the trade, as he may think proper. No regulation for its absolute removal has been received and of course the subject is open to the exercise of sound discretion.

You are therefore authorized to permit the introduction of whiskey in such limited quantities as you may think circum-

stances will justify, into the Indian [country] on our boundary west of Lake Superior, and adjoining the trading posts of the Hudson's Bay company. This change in our measures will require your most vigilant attention. Abuses of the permission are to to [sic] apprehended, and must be guarded against. You will be able to ascertain in the course of the year what is the result of this measure and what effect it produces in the trade, and upon the Indians. The facts connected with it you will please to report in order that I may lay them before the government.

I will immediately submit to the Secty. of War, the course which I have taken in this business that he may give such directions in relation to it as he thinks proper. I am, Sir, etc.

[Lewis Cass]

1823: GREEN BAY PARTNERS AT MACKINAC

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 15B1. Translated from the French.]

Green Bay 3 September, 1823.

Dear Sirs—I have received your favors Jacques Porlier's of the 25 and 26; John Lawe's of the 27 & 29, of which two came after the departure of the Steam Boat. I had written you by that Opportunity but I was much disappointed at its precipitate departure. I was not able to put my letters in its Box. As to getting Corn, about which you speak to me, I will say that I have already attempted it, but one cannot do here as one would wish. The Savages given over to Drink makes it difficult, part are Attracted by the keepers of the canteen and others. They have their Stores well Garnished for they have a privilege. They all buy Guns, Traps and all kinds of utensils and clothing. A pass is sufficient, and they also import Whiskey; one can not give Too much attention to this.

Your Letter came too late for me to send to Collect the Peltry, I go tomorrow to do this also the Grain. Very little hunt

has been made, and the Whiskey as I have mentioned to you has too much influence especially among the Puants [Winnebago]. The Season being advanced the Savages appear more hurried than usual. 4 to 6 Lodges of foll [Menominee] departed after Rolette, the others I hope to retain on the Renard River. They are on the point of quarreling with the Foll.

The Harvest here has not yet been gathered. it is bad, for the rains have done much damage. I received by the *Minerva* Capt Beldon 2 casks one I suppose high wine and one Barrel of Tobacco. He says he has not received what I paid for the freight.

I will do all in my power to fulfill the intentions of your Letters both in the matter of the Election and the Land claims.

Your families are well except Md. Porlier and Mr. Lawe's little girl who is very languishing. My very humble Respects to the Gentlemen. Awaiting the pleasure of soon seeing you I have the honor to be with Consideration and Esteem Your very Humble & very obedient Servant

L. Grignon

Messrs. J. Porlier & Lawe & Co. Michillimackinac.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B2.]

Michilimackinac

Dear Uncle—I wrote you by Mr. Mathews[24] a few Days past. I am still here, but hope to leave this soon. We are taking a few Goods this year again that they, the Am. Fur Co. let us have with a good deal of precautions. I hope that we will do better with them than this year. I wish that we had once a Chance to run in our favor. If we do not do any thing this year I do not know what will become of us. it is not the great quantity of Goods that we take out but it is the expences we are obliged to be at to Scatter those Goods to try & get a little peltry hear & there & every where as you see the diminution is great

[24] For this person see *Id*, xix, p. 414, note 57.—Ed.

in our part of the country. We have a good deal of opposition from the Am. F. Co. house & we have the Rabble opposition running about with a few bad goods & quantity of whiskey, it is as plentiful as water, that they trade out slyly, & destroys the Indians in every thing, Clothing &c. You never saw what a wretched place the Bay is, it is full of these little dirty Shantys, as they call them but the right name would be to give them is the dirty Grog shops where every crime is committed that you can think of, murder, Indians, squaws, Soldiers, all mixed together so that it is a complete nuisance, & every thing that is bad is there, the Indians, Soldiers & they Steal & they try every thing they can do upon the Poor Indians so that it enrages them in every way. I know that the Soldiers has reduced me in Cattle so that I have but few remaining. 2 years running I could never save a Calf nor a Pig. If they continue I do not expect that they will leave me any thing remaining it is all the Roots of the same 3rd Regiment that has been there for seven years past & they have never been exchanged they go about all night by Gangs of 10, 12, & 15 so they could commence at one place in the Settlement & steal & destroy as they went along. [MS. imperfect for several lines]. They broke into one of the Stores where the Company Goods was & stole a good deal we got some back but very few for the quantity that was Stole. they took it very quiet for they must by appearance have taken it very deliberately as they had made a Fire in the middle of the Store close to a parcel of Gunpowder & I suppose there was a good many of them as they had a Candle lighted and by all appearances they took it deliberately & I [suppose] if the persons of the house had descended that then their intentions were to kill & [this could be] perceived by their taking it so deliberately and the Candle for they ransacked the whole Shop over. They go about every night armed with [word illegible]. I am obliged to keep a great quantity of dogs about the house for to keep up a constant barking. I wish that regiment was exchanged for they are a great nuisance in place of a protection for the Citizens & there is coming a parcel of new recruits

[words illegible] to go on to the Prairie du Chien so that [several lines illegible]. I suppose they will Destroy the remainder of every thing & the old Troops takes the advantage of the times & benefit more by it in such times. I am sorry to hear from you the distressed Situation you were in. it makes me feel bad, but you must not assert it to me that I had the means. you must not think that McKinac is the one twentieth part of the same as what it was the times back when you can find a friend in need, & there is no persons that has the means in this place except the Am. Fur Co. and they will not even pay the balance of money due [one line illegible].

The Island of McKinac looks as gloomy as every Sunday no bustle nor noise no money stirring the 2/3 of the men hear find no employment & they have the best part of them hard times to leave the Island as they have no money to take them off you must walk the Streets as Strait as a Shingle & there is only the Am. Fur Co that have large Extensive buildings they must have cost a great deal of money to them. There is no money in circulation either here or at the Bay. I can Solemnly Say that I do not make one Dollar in 3 months there they allow one man to make the money & he is what they call the Suttler but it is a Shame that is these Am^{s}. permit that one man should monopolize the whole business & nothing to risk & the persons that has every [two lines illegible] nothing to loose—it is a great shame & they talk of liberty. It does not shew much liberality if they was to go according to law to pay the Troops off every two months there might be a Chance for every person & the Sutlers could not do better than every other person & we that are the Sufferers might come in for a little Share of the money in Circulation so that would bear a little for our damages that we sustain. [John Lawe]

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter dated Sept 5th 1823 to Jacob Franks.

1823: ARRANGEMENTS OF GREEN BAY COMPANY

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office, Letters Received 1823, no. 2, p. 152.]

AGENCY OFFICE GREEN BAY 17th. Septr. 1823.

His Excellency Lewis Cass

SIR—In my letter of the 3d. Instant, I stated from the best information I could receive, that there were but three Licenses granted during the last year, and the reasons why the Abstract was not forwarded, with the returns. I now find there were four, as per Abstract herewith. The principal reason why so few Licenses are given at this agency, and of so trivial a nature is in consequence of the traders purchasing their outfits at McKinac, and taking their License at that Agency, but in future there will be many more, and of heavier amount taken here; as a Company has just formed, under the denomination of the Green Bay fur Company—they obtained a license yesterday to an amount of upwards of three thousand dollars. I have taken Bond for five thousand, the full extent of the amount allowed by the Law of the 6th. of May 1822, which I have received since my last letter to you, partly embracing that subject, I regret that I have not the form of an Abstract of Licenses, the better to enable me to comply in the most strictest manner to the Law, and such instructions as I may receive from time to time. Will your Excellency be so good as to have a coppy inclosed in your next communication.

It would be very pleasing and gratifying to me to hear something of my Appointment, I have to request of you as a favour to be so good as to make some enquiry on the subject and inform me thereof. I have the Honor to be Sir Respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,

HY. B. BREVOORT[25]
Indian Agent.

[25] Maj. Henry B. Brevoort was a native of Long Island (1775), and entered the regular army in 1797, serving on the Great Lakes and the

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library: Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 57B25. Translated from the French.]

Before the undersigned Witness was present Charles Grignon[26] who voluntarily engages and by these presents engages himself to John Lawe agent of Green Bay Company here present and agreeing at his first requisition to depart from this post in the capacity of a Clerk, to make the journey going and returning and to winter during one year in the limits of La Bay Verte Ouisconsin &c. to be released at the end of June.

Also to take good and due care on the route and while at the said place of all the merchandise, peltries, provisions, utensils and all other things necessary for the voyage, trade, and wintering: to serve, obey, and faithfully execute all that the said Mr. John Lawe agent of Green Bay Company, or all persons to whom the said Sieur John Lawe agent of Green Bay Company is authorized by these presents to transfer this engagement, shall lawfully and honestly order him to do; to consider the latter's profit, to avoid his damage, to notify him of every thing relating to his interest that comes to the former's knowledge; and generally to do all that a good Clerk should and is

---

Ohio and Mississippi rivers till 1802, when he was stationed at Detroit, where he became first-lieutenant in 1806 and captain in 1811. He married Catharine Navarre at Detroit and at the surrender of that place (1812) was made prisoner. Exchanged before 1813, he served as volunteer and captain of marines on Perry's fleet and was rewarded for his bravery in the battle of Lake Erie. In 1814 Brevoort was promoted to be major, and after the war retired from the army. In 1821 he was register of the land office at Detroit, and in December, 1822, received appointment as Indian agent at Green Bay, whither he removed his family in 1824. See his daughter's narrative in *Id*, viii, pp. 293-308. In 1829 he was removed from the agency and returned to Detroit, where he was employed in the customs service and died in 1858. See Morgan L. Martin's estimate of him in *Id*, xi, p 391.—Ed.

[26] Charles Grignon had been in the service of the North West Fur Company upon Lake Superior, until shortly before its union with the Hudson's Bay Company (1821), when he returned to Green Bay and took employment with his brothers.—Ed.

expected to do; without carrying on any trade for himself either with the Whites or with the savages, not absenting himself, nor leaving the said service, under the penalty imposed by the laws, and the loss of his wages.

This engagement thus made, for and amounting to the sum of Nine hundred livres or ancient shillings of Quebec, or One Hundred and Fifty dollars, money of the United States which the said John Lawe, agent of the Green Bay Company or he to whom this engagement is transferred, promises and obliges himself to deliver and pay to the said [Charles Grignon] one month after his time is expired;[27] and at the beginning he shall also receive an equipment consisting of one 3 point Blanket one Two and a Half point blanket, four verges of Cotton, shall be furnished in tobacco, Shoes and 3^{lrs} of Soap.

Done and passed at Green Bay the twenty Second of Sept^{r} the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty three, and they have signed

C. Grignon
John Lawe
Agent Green Bay Company

In presence of J Jq Porlier Jn^{r}

[Source, same as preceding document, but 62B31. Translated from the French.]

Before the undersigned witnesses were present Joseph Rolette resident at Prairie des chiens, County of Crawford, Territory of Michigan of the one part, and Augustin Grignon, and Louis Rouse both of Baye Verte, County of Brown, Territory above said on the other;[28] who have agreed to the clauses and conditions following, namely

---

[27] As illustrative of the scale of wages, John Lawe writes July 12, 1823, to Louis Grignon (Wis. MSS., 14B28): "I suppose that the wages [for *voyageurs*] including the equipment ought to be each Seventy-Five Dollars."—Ed.

[28] This compromise was apparently effected to avoid the dangers of competition, which had caused Augustin Grignon's difficulties in 1820–21; see *ante*.—Ed.

That the said Joseph Rolette shall furnish one third of the goods for the commerce with the *folles avoines,* that are comprised in the equipment of Edward Pizanne departed from this post to go and winter above the falls of St. Antoine.

That one third of the expenses made by the said equipment shall be paid by the said Joseph Rolette and the other two thirds by the said Augustin Grignon and Louis Rouse, that the difference in the wages of the men is sixty six dollars and sixty six & 2/3 cents, which sum will be paid to the said Joseph Rolette by the said Augustin Grignon and Louis Rouse.

That the barges, tents and other utensils generally employed for the said equipment shall not be entered on the account but each equipper shall take care of what belongs to him, that one third of the merchandise for the said commerce shall be returned to the said Joseph Rolette at Prairie des chien next spring as well as a third of the Peltries that shall be secured in the said commerce.

That the said Augustin Grignon and Louis Rouse will furnish one half of the Merchandise for the trade of the Puant savages and in default of being able to furnish these goods, the said Augustin Grignon and Louis Rouse oblige themselves to pay the value to the said Joseph Rolette either in money or Peltries the next spring; and moreover, they will pay one half of the wages which are two hundred and seventy dollars, which sum shall be paid in peltries to the said Joseph Rolette on the said equipment, and a half of the merchandise that remains as well as a half of Peltries that are secured shall be divided next spring equally between the parties, but in case of any difference in the price of the Peltries they shall be placed in the hands of the said Joseph Rolette to be sold at Mackinac.

That the said Augustin & Louis Rouse will not Carry on and by these presents pledge themselves to carry on no trade whatsoever with the Sioux Indians, but shall have the right this spring to gather in the Credits they have made to the Folles avoines as well as to trade with the said Savages in the interest of the said equipment. That the said Joseph Rolette may trade with the savages that remain here after the departure from this place

of the said Augustin and Louis Rouse and trade in the spring when they arrive.

That the Credits, of which a copy has been given to the said Joseph Rolette, amounting to $561.54 that have been made to the folles Indians according to the said Augustin Grignon & L^s^ Rouse, shall not enter into this agreement, only those credits made since the month of June last shall enter into this bargain and not the ancient credits.

That all the expenses incurred by the said Grignon and Rouse from the time of departure from Green Bay until their departure from the Prairie des chiens shall not be included in this bargain.

That the liquors given to the savages this spring shall be mutually divided. That the goods taken to pay for licenses shall be arranged in the account of exchange, that is to say one man balanced against another, and the difference to be paid from the goods of this equipment if any remain.

That an Inventory shall immediately be taken of the goods that are here and a copy of the Credits made.

It is understood that this agreement shall end the fifteenth day of next May. Done and passed at Prairie des Chiens this sixteenth day of October of the year Eighteen hundred and twenty three. one word erased and one put in the margin. Signed by the parties, two copies.

Joseph Rolette
Agt Grignon
Lewis Rouse

Witnesses
Jno. Kinzie Jr.[29]
J. Rolette

Endorsed: Agreement 16th October 1823

[29] John Harris Kinzie, one of the sons of the Chicago pioneer, was born in Sandwich, Canada, July 7, 1803. When less than a year old, he went with his father to Chicago, where he lived until after the massacre in 1812. Removing to Detroit, the family there remained until 1816, when return was made to Chicago. In 1818 John H. Kinzie was apprenticed to the fur-trade, and lived on Mackinac Island as clerk for Robert Stuart. In 1823 he was sent to Prairie du Chien to learn the

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B48.]

Mackinac November 1st 1823

Dear Sir—I received your two esteemed letters of 26^{h} Ult^{o} p^{r}. Jackson, and must confess that I was much surprised to learn that M^{r}. Louis Grignon had remained at the Bay; but comment is useless.

I hope you will not allow your a/c^{ts} to run up as usual; for the *times* will not justify it. Muskrats & Racoon are daily on the decline, and I do not think you ought to calculate on more than 25^{c} for the former, & 33 1/3^{c} for the latter—of other skins I have no account.

Enclosed is Invoice of what articles I could furnish; of those enumerated in your Mem^{o}. of 26^{h} Ult^{o}: exclusive of which I send 1 Barrel whiskey, which I promised for next spring: I have also shipped to your address, 2 Bbls: Flour, 1 Bbl: Pork & 1 Bbl: whiskey: belonging to the upper Mississippi Outfit, which please store, & deliver to Rolette's People next spring; if required by his order: when his Boats arrive, please tell them that you have those articles, as he may suppose they will be stored with M^{r}. Porlier.

I hope you will have all your Outfits called in next spring, in Case it should be deemed advisable to make some new arrangements, as regards your C^{o}. Otherwise you will find your-

---

Winnebago language. In 1826 he was private secretary to Governor Cass, and the same year accompanied a delegation of Winnebago to Washington. In 1827 Kinzie was at the treaty of Butte des Morts, and two years later was made sub-agent at Fort Winnebago. For his experiences there, see his wife's *Wau-Bun*. In 1834 the family removed to Chicago, which became their future home. Kinzie was first president of the village organization, and prominent in civic affairs. In 1841 he was register of the federal land-office; later canal collector, and in 1849 receiver of public moneys. In 1861 Lincoln appointed him paymaster in the army, with the rank of major. The heavy work of the office proved too severe for him, however, and he died suddenly on a railway train, June 21, 1865.—Ed.

Albert G. Ellis (1800-1885)

From oil portrait by his daughter, in possession of the Society

selves just as much embarrassed to know the real state of your affairs, as you did the past season.

I enclose you M^r Williams' Note, and assure that I entered into no arrangement whatever with M^r. Ellis.[30] The Rev^d. Gent: is not on board the Jackson, & I would advise you to secure the am^t if practicable, ere he leaves you. I had no double Stove, but send you a single one, cost $20 which is at your D^r.

M^r. E. Biddle[31] has written to Detroit relative to the expenses of the express.

If you have any of the *famous black potatoes,* pray send me a few bushels.

The Tiger is probably the last vessel which will go to the Bay this fall, you had therefore better make your communication complete.

---

[30] Albert G. Ellis, one of the best-known of the American pioneers of Green Bay and the valley of the upper Wisconsin River, was born in New York state in 1800. At the age of sixteen he entered a printing office as apprentice, and three years later was engaged by Eleazer Williams as secretary and assistant. He visited Green Bay with the latter in 1821, and the next year came to remain, being appointed catechist and lay-reader by the Episcopal church. Under their auspices he began a school at Green Bay. In 1827 he was appointed inspector of provisions, and the following year deputy-surveyor. In 1830 Ellis accompanied an Indian delegation to Washington and was again surveying from 1833–36. In 1837 he was made surveyor-general of the Territory of Wisconsin, and was a member of the Territorial legislature in 1836 and 1841–44, and once acted as speaker. In 1845 he became sub-agent for the Chippewa, and in 1853 receiver for the northern Wisconsin land office, whereupon he removed to Stevens Point. General Ellis was one of the first editors in the State, and assisted in founding the Green Bay *Intelligencer* in 1833; at Stevens Point he established the *Pinery*. He died at the latter place Dec. 23, 1885. His contributions to the *Collections* were numerous and valuable; consult vols. ii, iii, vii, and viii.—Ed.

[31] Edward was a son of Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, and a brother of Nicholas, president of the United States Bank. Edward came to Mackinac as a merchant, and married an Indian girl. He continued to make the island his home during a period of upward of fifty years; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xiv, pp. 44–47.—Ed.

Mr Swan who is to winter at Manitouack[32] goes up as far as Porte des Morts, in the Tiger. I do not believe he has a good assortment, still Beaubien & Jean Veaux[33] ought to send a smart fellow *alongside* of him, for that is the only quarter, from which they have any thing to fear. You had better send them word as soon as possible.

I understand that a Brother-in-law of Roi, has set fire to our house at the Portage Ouisconsin,[34] pray investigate the business, for such conduct must not go unpunished.

Present my Respects to all our friends at the Bay, & believe me to be Dr Sir Your friend &c.

Robert Stuart
Agt. Am: Fur Co

When at the Bay, I promised Mr. A. Grignon, 2 or 3 Barrels Salt if we could spare them, but I find we cannot, & I have sent the Barrel marked for G. B. Co. to be divided between you & Paul Grignon. Please Dr. Augustin, with the half you will let Paul have, as I have charged it entire to your Co.

Addressed: John Lawe Esqr. Agent Green Bay Co. Green Bay per Capt. Blake.

Endorsed: Dated Nov. 1, 1823 recd 7th Answered 12th

1823: NEWS FROM GREEN BAY

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B49a.]

Green Bay 2nd Novr. 1823.

Dear Sir—I embrace this Opportunity of Mr. H. Fisher[35]

---

[32] Nothing further is known of this trader beyond the fact that his name was Moses, and that he was in business at Manitowoc as late as 1826; *Id*, vii, p. 240.—Ed.

[33] For Beaubien see *Id*, xix, p. 455, note 81. Jean Veaux is Jacques Vieau, the well-known early Milwaukee trader (1795), who also had "jack-knife" posts in Manitowoc County; see *Id*, xi, pp. 220, 221.—Ed.

[34] One of the Lecuyer family; see *Id*, xix, p. 396, note 44, and *ante*, p. 324.—Ed.

[35] For this trader see *Id*, xix, p. 139, note 83.—Ed.

one of our Old Traders on his way to the Prarie du Chien merely to say that I hope by the time this reaches you that you have got nearly over the best part of your fatigues & troubles with your Indians as I have not the least doubt but that you must have had a good deal of Anxiety & trouble with them before you got them off to their hunting Grounds. Nothing Strange since you have left this except the Death of M^rs^. Langven who died the 24^th^ Ultmo & her son Amable is arrived the 30^th^ Instant here.[36] M^r^ Richard is the Person Elected for Delegate to Congress for this Territory[37] & Robert Irwin Junior is the Legislator for this County a great number of persons is making you reproaches about your not putting up for Legislator which has deceived the most part of the people in this place for they most all voted for you here & found themselves so greatly disappointed to hear that you said you would not go when you got to M^c^Kinac after shewing an Inclination here that you would go if Elected. M^r^. Irwin is only required to go next year, the Legislators is allowed Three Dollars per Day & their freight of Baggage paid till they return home. we have had Three arrivals since you have left this the Schooners Minerva, Jackson, & Michigan The latter has brought the two Companys from Chekaugo, the Recruits have not yet arrived but are still expected, I received a few lines from M^r^ Robert Stuart acquainting us that Robert Irwin is getting up $1100 worth of Indian Goods from Dequindre house at Detroit[38] & does not mention

---

[36] Madame Langevin was Louise Domitelle Langlade, daughter of Charles Langlade and mother of the Grignons. For her first marriage see *Id*, xviii, pp. 493, 494. In 1806 she took for her second husband, Jean Baptiste Langevin, who survived her.—Ed.

[37] Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit was the first Catholic priest to sit in Congress.—Ed.

[38] Maj. Antoine Dequindre, grandson of the man noted in *Ibid*, p. 234, note 14, was born in Detroit in 1789. In 1812 he offered his services to raise a volunteer company of the French habitants, who did good service in the American cause. Dequindre himself was conspicuous for gallantry at the battle of Monguagon, for which he was afterwards publicly thanked by the legislature and offered a commission in

anything else Mr. Whitney is expected hourly in the Tyger from Detroit with Goods to go on to the Prarie du Chien. I have not heard any thing yet if our Entrys & Testimonies got to Detroit in due time but I am apprehensive that they have not I would wish to know soon so that we might try & do something if in Case they did not. Mr. Williams is gone down from this & Sail'd two Days ago Mr Ellis came here & brought 56 more of those Stockbridge Indians[39] Men, Women, & Children & has returned back with Mr. Williams. Our Indians of this place is the same, they still are as ungrateful as ever they keep going to the Shanty Town and trading as much as ever Slyly. If I could have been able to have got some Active person to keep a few Goods up there, & watch these fellows, I would but I cannot & we are too badly situated to go to too great an expense. Mrs. Porlier has been very unwell but is now better your Family is all well. I have got no Grain in yet but I am about warning the Inhabitants that they must pay us what they owe the Company. I cannot say what will be the result. Mrs McGulpin is dead Mrs Rouse's mother.[40] She died of the small Pox. I will now conclude I think I have tired your patience, hoping to hear from you soon with best wishes For your health & prosperity I am Dear Sir Yours truly J. Lawe

[*Jacques Porlier*][41]

---

the American army that he declined. Instead, he set up a mercantile establishment on Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, with an office later on Woodward Avenue. Reverses came, and by 1841 he had lost his property; but he retained the respect of the community till his death, some time after 1854.—Ed.

[39] For a description of the Stockbridge Indian history see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1899, pp. 157–166; see also, *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, iv, xv, *passim*.—Ed.

[40] Probably Madeleine Crequé, wife of Patrick McGulpin, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, xix, *passim*.—Ed.

[41] This letter is not directed, but internal evidence shows it was written to Porlier, who was wintering partner in 1823–24.—Ed.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B58.]

GREEN BAY 14th November 1823

DEAR SIR—I received your two much esteemed Letters of the 3rd & 4th Instant per your Son Pollete[42] on the 12th Instant and your favor of the 23rd Utmo I received a few days past with balance Sheet of Summer returns of the Bute des Mort Enclosed which is not very bad, taking every thing in Consideration, and in answer to your first Letter, I am glad to hear that Charles Grignons Outfit has not made very heavy Credits for this reason, that I have no great Opinion that the Indians of that quarter are well disposed as they have never shewn a very good disposition to pay at any time & I think that they will be much less inclined this Year, as there is a considerable quantity of Goods here, in Opposition to us. Mr R. Irwin has considerable as I have already acquainted you of in my last Letter, & Mr. D. Whitney has brought on a good deal and as the Season is So far advanced he has refused going to the Prarie du Chien at present. After he had Engaged all his Men to go he proposes to leave this in Trains this winter, & take on Goods for Lockwood, in part & some he will try and dispose of here. I am happy to hear that you have got more provisions that is to say Grain more than you expected to find as Provisions will be very scarce here & I would not be very able to assist you particularly in Corn, as there is none here this year. in regard of the piece of Strouds & the other goods that you did not find at the Bute de Mort, Mr L. Grignon States that you must have made the Error, he says that he never gave you an Inventory of Goods left at the Bute de Mort (say) such as Strouds, Blankets, &c &c, as a Depot. That you must have made the mistake entering it in the Invoice Book when you was taking it out of his Book. I will not forget to write & give Charles instructions if any thing should turn up according to your wish & desire. I will

[42] Paul Porlier, for whom see *ante*, p. 153, note 14.—ED.

not be able to send you any Kegs full as I have none made I believe till the Navigation is closed and then I may have a Chance perhaps but not too sure, but if absolutely you do require some before the Spring please inform me of it by the earliest opportunity. I received the Credits Enclosed of the Lake Shawenno Indians. I had made them their Credits before I knew that you had made them Credit & they took good care not to mention it beforehand I did not make the Solils band very heavy Credits but still it is too much as they are so numerous. I have made myself often reproaches about Waynesants Lodge, I have made them a great deal too heavy a Credit they will not be able to pay it that is certain, & I am very sorry & I blame myself very much for doing it but it cannot be help'd but for the rest of my Credits I have been pretty saving & I ought to be, for the Indians in general around here, their intentions are bad & they are bent to be Rogues, & trade where they ought not to, but there is no remydy for to Stop it. If There had been a person that I could have got, say a Smart man I would have put him at the Shanty Town to try at least to guard our Credits so If I could not have done any good I could not have any hurt. I hope that the Indians in your quarter will try and do better for to make up for those about here, you can frighten them to keep them from coming here, & tell them that the small Pox is raging as there has been such a report spread, in fact we thought that Amable Grignon's wife had it, & every one was alarmed. The Officers & Soldiers did not Stir out & it was put in Orders that there would be no communication between Fort Howard & this Side of the River, but it happens to be a false alarm you can make them believe that there is a great number of Troops Dead on account of the small Pox I have received two Letters from M^{r}. R. Stuart which I will send you a Copy of Extracts it appears that Rats & Racoons have fallen & are dayly on the decline The most given for good Rats is 25 & good Racoons 33 1/3. I had sent a Memorandum to the House for some articles which was absolutely indispensable but

I did not get the 1-4 of the Amount of what I demanded. Farnsworth has been back here & has bought two pieces of Strouds with the assortment from Whitney & has gone off to Day & there is a man of the Name of *Swan* that has come from M^c^Kinac & is off to go & winter at Munnetoowock or Chaboigun with a small asortment of Indian Goods so you see we do not want for Opposition about here, but I live in hopes that you will not be much troubled in your quarter that they will not send up in your quarter If there does go any person, it will be Mascaw that will get some Goods from Robert Irwin & then I suppose he will go & trade in his old place on the Rock River so it would be my Opinion to try & keep that place pretty clear of Peltry if it was possible for if he goes a trading, I suppose it will be soon now. I have been informed to Day that our friend Pollete Grignon has bought a piece of Strouds, Blankets, Powder, Calico, worsted yarn, &c &c & in fact a Complete assortment from Whitney two Days ago, perhaps he might have bought some besides before that time for what I know so what do you think of that? So you may imagine we will be well fixed. it is my opinion that you ought to advise Charles to run hard on his Credits & not to make one Single Credit more for this year, it is absolutely necessary to look out particularly for Indians that is close by here & has Creditors that is entered at the Village de Calumet[43] & around about the Wolf River, &c but you know best being on the Spot. I wrote to M^r^. Stuart & mentioned the particulars of what I heard from you & the amt. of Peltries &c at the Portage & at the Bute de Mort

Enclosed is a list of what Articles I could furnish of those enumerated in your Mem^o^ of 3^rd^ & 4 Inst but I am very short of Goods. I send you the Piece of Stroud but you must not expect any more as I am very Short of that Article as you know that there has been nearly 3 pieces distributed for the Whites which was too much we being so short of that Article

[43] For this Menominee village on the southeast shore of Lake Winnebago, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 171, 172.—Ed.

in fact I am short of every thing else my Shop is very thin & poor indeed, so we must do for the best this year as we are Situated. I hope Beaupré may have a good many Indians where he Winters & then he may Stand a Chance to do something in that Corner. M^r. L. Grignon has received a Letter from Major Biddle stating that our Land Claims had reached him in time & those that they had examined was reported favourably by the Commissioners but that they had not got yet through examining the whole & that the Claim of Augt Grignon at the Portage de Ouisconsin had not passed as the Commissioners had no powers to extend to there. We have had Three Arrivals Since I wrote you last the Tyger Loaded partly with Provisions for the Public & partly for the Individuals, Whitney in particular. The Union brought the Military Cloathing and 125 Recruits, Capt Bradley & Lieut Walker[44] has come with them & last Night the Schooner Phoebe Loaded for a M^r. Brooss[45] who has come on here to keep Shanty he is Loaded with Groceries say whisky, Pork, Flour, & Beef, & Pollete has hired M^rs Langvens Old House[46] to him so you may judge what a house it will be. We only expect one more vessel that is the Pondiac & then that will close the Communication for this Season she will be Loaded for the Commissrs & for Wheeler. I will now conclude I think I have tired your patience writing you a Long Letter & little contained in it. I have been a good deal troubled these few days past here, your Family is all Well with best wishes for your Health I am D Sir Yours truly

J. Lawe

[*Jacques Porlier*]

[44] The military career of Capt. John Bradley is sketched in *Id*, vii, p. 367. Lieut. Benjamin Walker of the 3d Infantry was at Green Bay in 1822–23.—Ed.

[45] Probably William H. Bruce, a commission and transportation merchant of Green Bay, who from 1848 to 1850 was sub-agent for Indians at that place. See also *Id*, xv, pp. 252–263.—Ed.

[46] See Arndt, "Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1912.—Ed.

1823: THE WINTERING PARTNERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B45. Translated from the French.]

PORTAGE 28 Dec. 1823

MY DEAR SIR—I profit by the 1st opportunity to address you at the prairie, and inform you that the best Rats are not worth more than 2/. and the best Cats 33 1-3 cts. both articles have fallen. They have not yet had news of the other peltries. Much Merchandise at the Bay, Mr. Irwin has received $1100 worth, Mr. Witney who goes to the prairie in the Course of the winter, has for Mr. Lacoude and himself as much more, the Sutler has furnished it to Farnsworth and perhaps others, another has gone to Chaboiygane with an assortment. Mr. Lawe complains greatly, it seems that all the Savages go to trade with the Americans and come to him for Credit. I much fear that the outfit of the butte des Morts will be crushed by the drouines. I have lost the best one of my men here, Jackson who was drowned in my sight. I have since sent Paul and Lecuyer, to try and save his Credits. The time for their return has passed, and I do not know what to think. The Savages make a pretty good Hunt above here but I fear that Bauprez has not profited by it. He lacks Blankets and moreover according to the report of his men has only 12 packs probably of Credits taken up. There are no Savages here and the few that there are are of that type of good for nothings that do not know how to shoot a Deer. We have enough to eat thanks to a couple of Hunters. So much the better if what merchandise you have brought melts away. If you have any remaining unsold I shall be very sorry, because I shall be without here before spring, all the more that I counted on one piece of assorted cloth that I thought I should find at the butte, and which was not there, so that I have only 14 pieces for all the department where there should be 18.

Your Brothers [47] according to report have taken goods from Mr. Whitney, and give us good day. They have begun with the band of Monbasa, their Chance will scarcely be the same with the rest of the Savages that they have managed for the Company.

The intention of Our Gentlemen is that nothing shall remain in the interior not even Credits. I send you word of this that when you pass the portage you may leave nothing for the Account of the invoice. My best compliments to Mr. Rouse I am with esteem Your very humble Servant

Jq. Porlier

Mr. Aug. Grignon at la prairie

1823: THE GREEN BAY AGENT

[Source, same as preceding document, but 15B76.]

Green Bay 30th Decr 1823

Dear Sir—I am so Weak that I cannot hardly hold my pen but as I would wish to write you by this Opportunity I will do as well as I can, I have been Sick this some time past of a sort of Bilious disease & am still so but I hope I will soon recover now.

Your favor, of the 3rd Instant I received the 14th & I had no opportunity of answering it till at present. you would wish to make me reproaches about sending you the Articles last Fall. I knew very well that you was not in want of the most part of them Articles at the time by what you mentioned in your Letter, but I thought that there could not be a better chance of sending them then at that time as your Son was here & he was a little Lame & having two Indians I thought he could go better in a Canoe then afoot as he was lame, & as he had been here Six or Seven days I thought that it was high time for him to go & as I doubted much that you knew of his

[47] About this time the younger Grignons, Paul and Amable, formed an opposition company.—Ed.

coming here, I was anxious to get him off as I was sure you would be in a good deal of anxiety for him being so long gone. Pollete Started the 14 Ultimo in the morning & I Supposed Camped at Perish Grignon's. The first News I heard of the Goods being Seized was the two little Indians that came to my house late in the Night & they told me the Story that the Interpreter & 4 Soldiers had come & taken away the Goods from the Rapids & had stored them at M^{r} Robert Irwin's Store to tell you the truth I was thunderstruck & a good deal Surprised however I thought I must make the best of a bad bargain the next day I went to the Agents & pretended I knew nothing about the seizure, made the Indians hide themselves, & took Pollete along with me & we talked a good deal of one thing or other but he said nothing to me about the seizure. At last I told him I wanted a pass for Pollete & at the same time some articles that he was taking along with him he then told me that they were seized that there was some soldiers come & made formal Information & that he was obliged to take notice of it. I pretended to be quite surprised & asked him for what reason he did it that the property was not out of the vicinity of the Bay & as he allways indulged us to send off our Boats before we got the passes that I did so this time He said it was true he began to get afraid & said he thought it was Riders property howsomever I got him to give me all the Articles back & he to pay the Expenses of seizing them, & that is the whole of the Story.

In regard of your Man not doing his duty I assure you on my Word & honor that I knew nothing disadvantageous. I thought that all was going on well at your house, & I enquired very particularly often & often about the house & your Son Jaque told me that the Man was doing very well as he sais he did not know to the Contrary himself. He is a Drunken good for nothing fellow, I told your Son to turn him off or send him to you to punish him & he might take any man I had in my Service to go & Stay there but I believe the fellow is a little frightened & he may do better but that is not a

Certainty. I make Jaque go over twice a Day to see what is going on for this long time ago past & your Farmer is another great Vagabond & nobody knew about his making away with the Grain till of late as I allways made it a Study to enquire of Jaque if every thing was going on well for your Interest & he told me it was as he had understood so. Jaque cannot find his Contract with you so we might have him brought up. No News worth Communicating from here. Jaque Veau came here the 14th Instant & is gone back 3 days after. He sais he has made no arrangements with Beaubien he did not see him as he did not come to Millwackey. I believe he will do pretty well there. This Trader Swan that is at Munnetoowek he is a waisting his goods as hard as he Can I think he will be soon done. Mascaw is a going off on the Rock River to Trade toMorrow he gets his Goods from Irwin. I have not heard yet from Chaput except Indian news. for my part I am doing nothing myself here the Indians as great Rogues as ever. I have no Opportunity of sending you your piece of Stroud nor Gunpowder yet. I have no Flour here so that you may not depend on any I have not got a Single Grain of any thing from the Farmers on their Debts. We have sent off an Express to Detroit by Subscription it left this the 14th Inst. I had no Interest in it more than for the Protest against the Stockbridge Indians that we have sent on there will be an Express that goes from Fort Howard the 4th of next Month to Mackinac. If Charles dont take care Swan will trade all his Credits at the Village du Calumet if he has not allready done it. I have wrote him often enough about it he is always Writing that he has no Man Capable to run the Derouin & he has no Goods to trade & many other things. Your Family is all well it is a good deal Sickly this year here. I suppose you must have heard from the Mississippi by this time. I hope they will make good returns this Year for we are much in want of them. I am in hopes that Beaupré will do well this year. You have done a good deal of work considering the Season you arrived at the Portage. I must now

conclude for I am sure that you will not be able to read my writing, I can hardly sit up, I am so weak so I must stop wishing you health & prosperity is the Sincere wish of your friend & H'ble Servant J. Lawe

[*Jacques Porlier, Portage*]

1824: FUR PRICES FALL

[Source, same as preceding document, but 6B93.]

Mackinac Jany 20th 1824

Dear Sir—Your esteemed favor of the 4th inst came to hand yesterday; the bad state of your health gave much concern; but I trust that ere this you are restored to your usual bon-point. I was sorry to learn of the numerous oppositions you have to encounter, as well as of the little disposition the Indians evince to hunt: but hope that before spring, you will get the better of *both difficulties*. At least I am satisfied your exertions shall not be wanting. Cannot Mr. Porlier send with or after his part of the Indians who have gone down Rock River &c. As to old Charette,[48] wife & son, they had barely a passport from Col. Boyd, and if they have gone inland to trade, are subject to be brought out & punished; which I hope you will endeavour to have done: and on representing the affair, I am persuaded Major Brevoort has too much respect for the dignity of his Office & department, to permit such an insult to go unpunished.

We have not as yet recd. any express from below, therefore have no news to communicate—by the last accounts in the fall, Rats & Racoons had fallen even from last summer prices. Our Rats could not be sold in Octr. for 30 cents, and 33 1-3 Cts: only were offered for the Raccoon.

The Pontiac went up as far as the entrance of the Bay, but the Capt. got alarmed & returned, although he might have made (in my opinion) two trips to the Bay after he left this

[48] For this trader see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 170, note 33.—Ed.

for Erie. Present my best wishes to Miss Lawe & the old Lady, and believe me to be with esteem Dr Sir Your Mo obt Servt ROBERT STUART

Please rem: me kindly to Majr. Brevoort & the Gent: of the Fort &c: &c:

John Lawe Esqr Green Bay Michigan Territory Express

1824: WINTERING IN WISCONSIN

[Source, same as preceding document, but 16B7. Translated from the French.]

VILAGE LAISLE ROUGE[49] 24 Jan. 1824.

DEAR FRIEND—I take the opportunity to wish you all prosperity and am glad to learn that you enjoy good health and at the same time have good hopes for your Commerce. I await the return of Mr. Ballie[50] from the Prairie and think that I

---

[49] "Laisle Rouge" was Red Wing, second chief of the Mississippi Sioux, whose village was on the site of the present city of Red Wing, Minn. In early days this Indian hamlet was from its location called the "Wood-water-hill" village. It is said to have been formed by the chief, Red Wing, as an offshoot from Wabasha's village at Winona. In 1823 there were ten lodges, housing twenty warriors and a population of about 100. Pike visited the place in 1805. Red Wing himself took part with the British in the War of 1812–15, but appears to have had some leaning toward the American cause; see *Id*, ix, p. 197. In 1819 Forsyth visited him in his village and says that he was then about sixty years of age; *Id*, vi, pp. 199–204. Red Wing's testimony was also used about this time to fortify the Jonathan Carver claim to a vast tract of neighboring land; *Ibid*, pp. 240, 250–252, 254, 263–266. This chief signed the treaty of 1825 at Prairie du Chien, but appears to have died before that of 1830. At his village was begun (1838) a Swiss Protestant mission that was abandoned in 1845; but three years later the enterprise was taken up by the American Board, and continued until the removal of the tribesmen, about 1852. The American town was located on this site in 1853; and the first mill built two years later.—ED.

[50] Probably Alexis Bailly, for whom see *ante*, p. 197, note 55.—ED.

can make some arrangement with him to go to the River St. Pierre I beg you to write me by means of the Sioux for the Sioux are in the place I hope to go. If I can Succeed in going where I wish, I shall probably not come down until late and shall not have the pleasure of seeing you at the Prairie. I believe that I shall go and see the Bay once more if it please God, and have the pleasure of seeing again our friends.

I have no other [news] that merits your attention. I beg you to give my Compliments to Edouard and poor Bangée I close by wishing you more Wisdom than in past years as for myself if I do not abandon vice it gives me much Unrest. It is well to jest sometimes. I am with respect your friend

P. Powell

Mr. A. Grignon Upper Mississipi

[Source, same as preceding document, but 16B12.]

Green Bay 3rd February 1824

Dear Sir—I received your much esteemed favor but no date to it by Francois Roy the 27th Ultimo which I was very happy to hear from you and at the same time very sorry to hear that you have been so very Sick, but am in hopes by this time that you have quite recovered, as we have all troubles & Miscrys enough in this Wicked World without Sickness taking hold of us.

No news very interesting to write you from this desolate place, the Indians around here has made no Hunt they have made a great deal less hunt then ever they have made or that I have ever known them to make & besides that the very good intentions they have towards us in trying to Cheat & defraud us as much as they can as even the few Peltries they do kill they take it to the Shanty Town to trade either by Night or take a New route round so that they cannot be seen by day & I am certain & can assure you even the very best Indians that their is about here at present that would be able & willing to pay his Credit to us, after paying if he had any Peltry remain-

ing he would hide it to go & trade it with these *Shanty Men* sooner then give us a preference they are now so much taken up with these people, it is very true that they Sell so very low & that their Goods is so much Cheaper then ours that it does Intice both the Whites & Indians to trade with them

The different Iron Works you send down by Francois Roy has all been fixed & mended & I hope to your satisfaction.

I Enclose you the List of the Articles I send you I am very sorry I could not send you more Blankets & Stroud I have only Four pair of 2½ pt Blankets remaining & 1 piece of Strouds I also Enclose you a list of a few Articles that I send to Charles you have gave me no Instructions in your Letters to that purpose but I suppose it will meet with your Approbation. I have received several Letters from him in the course of this Winter and they contain nothing but Complaints that he has no Man to draw his Credit, no Goods to Trade on hand, himself very Sick otherwise he would go to draw his Credits &c &c. &c. I was quite at a loss what to do I was very near going to try & hire a man if I could have got him to send him & at the same time the Expence would perhaps exceed more then the Profits. Mr Swan the Trader at Mannetoowock I believe has assisted him to draw his Credits in the Font du Lack or at the Village of Calumet as he kept running the deruin on that quarter & the Rock River, but I believe he is run out of Goods for the present. Chaput sent his Man *Charbenno* here about 4 Weeks past to try & get another Horse as the Horse he had there was Dead he died of the Gourm I could not find our Horse "Poisson" at the time to send him. Chaput told the Man to tell me that he was very well Satisfied with his Indians that he did not find fault with them this Year & that is all I know of the News of the Follavoine so far. the Winter has been so Open & mild this Year that the Lake is not yet taken to this Day so that there has not been a single Speared Sturgeon has been brought to the Bay this Year, the Indians is all a Starving & it is quite a famine for them There is not a Single bit of Ice at the Follavoine nothing but the bare

Beach the Netts has catch'd but few fish I do not know what is agoing to become of us it will be quite a famine in the Bay this Year.

It appears by M^r. Rolettes Letter to you that he intends to prosecute Rouse & augustin next spring but I suppose he is working mischief himself & he would wish to make a great noise as usual to carry his Plans & Deception on to a better Advantage. We dont know where Augustin Grignon Winters yet. If you have a Chance to Write to Rouse I would mention that to him what Rolette sais about him in his Letter to you so that he can be on his Guard. I am very much afraid that we are a going to make a nother bad year of it one more to all appearance so far If Augustin & Rouse dont bring great Returns we are lost & undone for ever. our Bourgois[51] of M^cKinac is to blame in some measure it is them I must suppose that gives Secret Instructions to Rolette for to oppose & try to ruin us for this reason why would M^r Rolette go on as he does if he was not supported & upholded by them to do so he is only an Agent for them & if he did wrong or go contrary to their Orders they would make him suffer for it they have his Money in their hands & they could make him pay well for it but to the contrary they find that he is just a proper Person to serve as a tool for them to destroy us, as M^r Rolette sais in his Letter to you that Writings is Males and words Females that is very true we see by them they gave their Word this Year again we would not be opposed by them at the Portage de Ouisconsin but that is all but we have no writings from them to that purpose & it is so in every transaction they do with us, enough of this for the present.

I have made 1300 Plues on Credit & Commissions amongst 65 Men & I am afraid that I will not draw for 300 Plues in the whole the Indians seems to be more unfortunate than ever they do not kill anything. I have not made Three Packs

[51] "Bourgeois" was a word used in the fur-trade for a superior or an *entrepreneur*. Lawe here intends the partners of the American Fur Company, who furnished goods to the Green Bay Company.—Ed.

yet I can assure you. & I do not know what will be the result or how it will turn out but it is a very bad omen so far. I have not collected any thing from the Inhabitants on their Debts & no appearance nor hopes of geting anything from them. The two Expresses is expected every moment from M^cKinac & Detroit. I am very sorry that they did not Arrive before Francois left this as I would have sent you all the News but the first opportunity that offers after they arrive I will let you know if there is any thing Interesting

M^r L. Grignon sends his Compliments to you and so does M^r Wheeler.[52] your Family enjoys good health Three Days past one Indian & two Squaws was drowned at the Peshettigon[53] by the Ice breaking in the Lake. I send you Joseph Dugus acct as I find it in the Mens Books, & as I have no time at present as I want to get Roy off I defer sending you the Account of your Department till next oppertunity Offers as I have not got Jourdains acct which I hope will come in time as I have nothing more that merits your attention I will now conclude with best respects to you I am Dear Sir Your Most Obd Hbl Svt

JOHN LAWE

N. B. I send you 2650 Grains of Wampum of Indian Pledges I do not know whose they are, I had not a Single Branch left me last fall otherwise I would have sent you some you may make it answer your purpose.

James Porlier Esqr Present

---

[52] S. A. Wheeler was a resident of Green Bay in 1823–24.—ED.

[53] The word Peshtigo has been variously interpreted as meaning, "passing through a marsh," "snapping turtle," etc. The river has been a place of resort for the Menominee since the seventeenth century, and trading posts among them were supplied from Green Bay during the early part of the nineteenth century.—ED.

1824: ASTOR TO CROOKS

[Transcript in Burton Library, Detroit. Pressmark: Letter Book of Ramsay Crooks, p. 200.]

GENEVA 16. Feby. '24.

DEAR SIR—I have already acknowledged receipt of your letters to 7 Ulto. In lookin over the accounts which you have sent me, I am sorry to see so great a loss to be sustained by the concern of 1817 which I fear will prove still more when the sales of furs are received

I do not recollect whether the debts due to this concern have been transferred to that of the succeeding one or not.

In the outfit of 1817 only one debt is stated that by Porlier $4032.84 why only this one, there are I presume others for I see in the amount of the succeeding concern the Company has Credits by debts due at Mackinac $54,129 valued at $40,080. You will be so good as to tell me why the debt of Porlier was not transferred as well as all the rest of them.

* * * * * * * *

What strikes me very forceable in the account is the large amount of which the Company is in debt at Mackinac, Detroit and St. Louis; if not too much trouble please tell me what these are or for what object the Company became so much in debt.

In the statement of the new concern that is the present Company, it shows property at St. Louis on hand $37818.88 and at Mackinac $59603.85 which sums appear very large, and unless there were prospects of making sales in course of the winter which I should not suppose, I should think this to be a burden to the Company. I consider it of the utmost importance that no more goods be bought or imported than can well be sold this season so imported as we not only loose much interest, the good[s] become no better and perhaps fall in price and presently you are induced in order to get rid of them to sell people who never pay, for looking at our accounts the losses by bad debts are very great.

In the valuation of the furs on hand you put $1 for each Deer skin, this is more than what they will sell for and it will make some difference as to the profits besides, which will be great deductions from the Value of the payments.

Racoons were invoiced at 80 Cents and sold in London at about 45 Cents Etc.

I am sorry to say, the prospect for this article is bad, and we have all of last years on hand as well as many of 22.

Beaver I mentioned before, I thought a safe article, and that the Company should buy at St. Louis. Of deer, I wish those of Stone & Co. had not yet come to Europe. as I am in negotiation for all ours and this parcil if arrived will Check the negotiation so I fear. a few days more I hope wil decide I am Dear Sir Yours

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

Mr. Ramsy Crooks New York

Endorsed: Geneva, 16. Feby. 1824. John Jacob Astor Received 26. April 1824. Answered 26. Jun 1824. From Frederick, Maryland

---

1824: TRADE AT GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 1C151.]

GREEN BAY 21st April, 1824

DEAR SIR—I take the opportunity of Lieut[nt] Crossmans[54] who is on his way to the Mississippi. Your esteemed favors of the 24[th] Jany last only came to hand the latter part of March which we was very happy to hear from you. We had not yet heard where you was a wintering. Times has been & is at present very dull in this quarter more then ever I have

[54] George H. Crosman was a West Point graduate, coming to Green Bay as second-lieutenant of 6th Infantry. He afterwards served in the Black Hawk and Florida Indian wars, and in the Mexican War was brevetted for conspicuous bravery at Palo Alto. During the War of Secession he served as quartermaster, and finally attained the rank of major-general. Retiring in 1868 he died at Philadelphia in 1882.—ED.

known it since I have been in this place, the Indians has made 100 per Cent less hunt then I ever know them to make, and about the Bay there has been a great deal more opposition then ever has been in the place plenty of the first quality of Indian Goods Selling here at a very low rate (say) much less than the first Cost of our Goods. We have great hopes that you will bring out returns sufficient to cover all our losses otherwise if not so we are badly situated. Muskrats and Raccoons has a serious fall (say) they will not bring more than 25 cents & Raccoons 30 Cents (from present appearances) that is what Mr Stuart wrote me in his last letter dated 20 March & that the Fur Market both in Europe & the United States is quite on the decline, as we may expect & suppose that it will never be our good fortune to hear that Furrs is rising (I say particularly we). Stuart writes me at the same time saying that I had better write to all of you directing for all our outfits to bring back all the remains of Goods &c: so that they can be taken to M^{c}Kinac & transferred over to their C°. so you will please to bring them in as it is their request & as I suppose we must obey their Orders. I have not heard from Mr Porlier for a Month past but I refer you to him for the News of his quarter as I suppose he will write you by this same opportunity. The Follevoine Outfit will make out but poorly as the Indians has made but a very poor hunt this season in that quarter and Opposition that sold their Goods very low but I believe they have done their best as much as lies in their power. We have had an opposition at Mannatoowock a M^{r}. Swan that came from M^{c}-Kina late last Fall & has been selling the best quality of Indian Goods very low which has opposed Jaque vieau Mr. P. & Mr. D.[55] a great deal. I Enclose you a Letter that Mr. Rolette wrote to Mr. Porlier last winter so that in case it may reach you in time you will see it will be as well [to] be on your Guard how you close all your winter outfits with him I

[55] These two names are illegible in the MS.—Ed.

send it in case that it may Come in time. I think from what I can learn that JaqueVieau will do middling well this year.

[John Lawe]

Endorsed: Copy of a Letter to A. Grignon dated April 1824.

[Source, same as preceding document, but 1C152.]

Green Bay 25th April 1824

Dear Sir—You will receive this by your Son who I send to see you and at the same time he takes the Credits along that was made here those that I suppose may come out by that route for to leave them with you. No good news to write you from this quarter every thing very dull here more then usually common. the Indians has made less hunt then ever and are badly disposed, the season is very backward and that keeps back the Farmers from sowing and in general they are not much inclined to forward their work. Provisions dear & Scarce, no Cash particularly for us. Sugar will be somewhat abundant but there is so many purchasers we stand but a small chance of geting our share & they estimate it so high that it would cost us more than the first cost of our Goods to pay for it. Mr. Robert Stuart writes me that Rats & Raccoons have had a Serious Fall (say) Rats sold for 25 Cents & Raccoons 30 Cents & the Market both in Europe and the United States is on the decline, so that no good news for us. I never expect that we will ever have that good fortune to hear that Peltries has taken a Rise (particularly for us). Mr. Stuart writes me at the same time that I should write to *all* of our outfits for them to bring in all the remains of Goods &c. so that we can transfer them over to their Co. in case we may make other arrangements so that our affairs will be easyer closed &c. I have now wrote to Augt Grignon about it if the Letter can overtake the opportunity that is going on to the Prairie du Chien but as it is he knows it since last Fall for we had spoke about it then. I have no news lately from Jaque vieau but

I think he will do middling well as he supposed so himself when he was last hear I have got the most part of the articles ready what you wrote me for last Feby & March that was necessary for the Portage d'Ouisconsin all but to the exception of Locks & some trifling articles but I have had no opportunity of sending them up to you as for Pipe Tomyhawks I could not get Jourdain all winter to make them as he said he could not procure fine Files to polish them with So you must not take it as a neglect of mine not sending you them

[John Lawe]

[*Jacques Porlier, Portage*]

1824: REGULATIONS CONCERNING TRADING STATIONS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 72C25.]

War Department Office of Ind aff June 5. 1824

To His Excellency Lewis Cass Detroit, Michigan

Sir—By the 4th Section of an act of Congress of the 26th Ulto. it is made " the duty of Indian agents to designate from time to time Certain Convenient & Suitable places for Carrying on trade with the different Indian tribes, and to require all traders to trade at the place thus designated and at no other place"—Which you will take immediate measures to carry into effect.[56] Under the act more than one place of trade may be designated to any one tribe, but a greater number of places than one for each tribe will be avoided unless there is a Special reason to increase them. You will report to the Department the places which may be designated with rea-

[56] This act was signed May 25, 1824 and is entitled: "An Act to enable the President to hold treaties of trade and friendship with certain Indian tribes, etc." Sec. 4 reads: "It shall be the duty of Indian agents to designate, from time to time, certain convenient and suitable places for carrying on trade with the different Indian tribes, and to require all traders to trade at the places thus designated, and at no other place or places."—Ed.

sons for the same, which when approved of by the Department will not be Changed without its Sanction. The licenses hereafter to be granted will state particularly, the place at which trade may be carried on under them respectively; and any departure from the terms of the license will be considered as a forfeiture, of the bond given under it, and proceedings against the parties will be instituted accordingly. At the termination of the time for which existing licenses have been granted, those that may be renewed, will, in like manner designate the place of Trade, and in the mean time should persons holding a license carry on trade at points other than those which may be designated, they will be considered as incurring the penalty of the acts, regulating intercourse with Indian tribes I have the Honor to be yr obt Ser[t][57]

J. Lawe,
Agt. G. B. Co.

1824: AFFIDAVITS AND CONTRACTS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 90C4.]

William A. Aitkens[58] deposeth and saith, that he purchases one half of his goods for the Outfit of Fond du Lac from the

[57] The document is unsigned. It was a transcript sent to John Lawe, as agent of the Green Bay Company.—Ed.

[58] An old Mississippi trader, who belonged to the department of Fond du Lac on Lake Superior, whence he went to his trading post near the entrance of Leech Lake. Aitkins came to the fur country while still a boy, and having married into an influential Chippewa family, had a successful trade therewith. It 1826 he and Eustache Roussain were the American Fur Company agents for the important district of Fond du Lac (of Lake Superior). In 1829 he bought out Roussain, and in 1831 conducted the department on half shares. The following year a missionary visited at his post and opened the first school held in Minnesota. Aitkins is said to have had twenty-five half-breed children. His eldest son, Alfred, was in 1837 murdered by an Indian, and the latter was tried at Prairie du Chien; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 271–273. Aitkins died in 1851, being buried at a place now called Swan River, in Itasca County, Minn. A county in Minnesota is named for him.—Ed.

American Fur Company and the other half from Charles Oakes Ermatinger, that his arrangement with the parties respectively is, to purchase the goods as above stated; and to give each the preference in purchasing half of his furs, but that he is at perfect liberty to sell them to the highest bidder, on payment in cash, such advances as the respective parties may have made on his account. That the part of the goods furnished him by Ermatinger, are regularly entered at the Customhouse.

WM. A. AITKIN,

Sworn to and subscribed this 24 July A. D. 1824
H. S. BAIRD, *J. P. C. M.*[59]

[Source, same as preceding document, but 68B118.]

Truman A. Warren,[60] deposeth & saith, that he purchases one half of his goods for the Outfit of Lac du Flambeaux, from the American Fur Company and the other half from Charles O. Ermatinger, that his arrangement with the parties respectively is, to purchase the Goods as above stated; and to give each the preference in purchasing half of his furs, but that he is at perfect liberty to sell them to the highest bidder, on paying in Cash, such advances as the respective parties may

[59] This is Henry S. Baird, the well-known Green Bay lawyer, who was at this time justice of the peace for the county of Michilimackinac (J. P. C. M.). Two months later he removed to Green Bay—see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xv, pp. 205ff; also *Id*, vii, pp. 426–443. Baird was a valued contributor to the early volumes of these *Collections;* note, especially, ii, pp. 72–97.—ED.

[60] Truman A. Warren, of New England ancestry, came West from Vermont in 1818, with an elder brother, Lyman, and entered the fur-trade. They were first employed as clerks at a salary of $500 a year by Michel Cadotte, the French-Canadian trader at La Pointe, Madelaine Island. In 1821 the young Americans married daughters of Cadotte, and two years later bought out all his interest in the post. Truman had charge of the Lac du Flambeau district. He died in transit from Mackinac to Detroit, in 1825.—ED.

have made on his account. That the part of the goods furnished him by Ermatinger, are regularly entered at the Custom-house. T. A. Warren

Sworn to and subscribed this 24th day of July A. D. 1824
H. S. Baird, *J. P. C. M.*

[Source, same as preceding document, but 88C11.]

It is hereby agreed between Robert Stuart, Agent American fur Compy. of the one part, and Jacques Vieaux of Green Bay, of the other part

That the said Robert Stuart hereby agrees, to furnish the necessary Goods, for the Trade of Shabouégan, on the confines of Miliwakie, at the prices set forth in the Invoice herewith rendered to the said Jacques; but that said property belongs exclusively to the American fur Company: all the returns of which, the said Jacques agrees to bring, or send to the Agent of the American fur Company at Mackinac as early as practicable next spring, where they shall be taken to account by the said Company at the current prices of the place, at that period—and in consideration of the said Jacques giving all his time and attention to said trade, and defraying all expenses attending it; he shall in lieu of wages, receive all the profits arising thereon. Witness our hands, at the Borough of Michilimackinac, this fourth day of August 1824.

In presence of
Wm. Currie
J. P. King

his
Jacques + Vieaux
mark
Robert Stuart
Ag^t. Am: Fur C^o

Endorsed: 3d. August 1824 Agreement with Jacques Vieaux.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Book 205, A, p. 59.]

SAULT STE MARIE August 9th. 1824.

SIR—Pursuant to instructions I have determined upon the following places where trade may be carried on with the different bands of Indians living within the limits of this Agency, viz:

On the River St Mary's

1. At the Sault de Ste Marie.

On the South Shore of Lake Superior.

2. At Grand Island.
3. At Ance Keewyweenon.
4. At Ontonagon River.
5. At La Point.

In the Region between Lake Superior and the Mississippi.

6. At Lac du Flambeau.
7. At Lac Chetac.
8. At Courterrielle.
9. At Chippeway River.
10. At Yellow River } Folle Avoine Country
11. At Snake River }

In the department of Fond du Lac, N. W. of Lake Superior

12. At Fond du Lac.
13. At Sandy Lake.
14. At Leech Lake.
15. At Red Lake.
16. At Pembina.
17. At Crowing [Crow Wing] River.
18. At Rainy Lake.
19. At War Road.
20. At Vermillion Lake.
21. At Grand Portage.
22. At Round Lake.

These posts are not only within the limits of this Agency, strictly speaking, but also in those districts of the Indian Country where the trade has usually been carried on, and where it appears to be most "Suitable and convenient" both to the Indians and to the traders.

In fixing upon these sites I have not been unmindful of the

principle laid down, that—"more than one place of trade may be designated to any one tribe, but a greater number of places than one for each tribe will be avoided, unless there is a special reason to increase them," and I feel fully satisfied, that a less number of Posts than those above designated, would [not] be expedient at the present time.

The Indian Population in this Agency, being scattered over a great extent of country—collected into small bands or villages often seperated by hundreds of miles of waste and barren country destitute both of game and fish, the Indians could not perform long journies to exchange their furs for those goods which habit has rendered essential to them. In considering this dispersed state of the Chippeways, however, every band of hunters has not been accomodated with a trading post; but such a selection of places made as will compel two, three, or more bands residing in the same circle of country to resort to one Station. Should changes of population, or any other causes, render any future alterations necessary, the reasons for such alterations will be reported for the decision of the department.

All licenses granted by me, during the present season particularly specify, that the trade shall be conducted at one or more of the Posts above named; and so far as the subject is within my controul, the principles of the law are in full operation. In stating this fact, it is due to the uniform manner in which the trade in this quarter has heretofore been regulated, to say, that the changes created by the late instruction have been effected without inconvenience or difficulty.

This system formerly pursued has been perfected by striking the word "dependencies," from the names of the Posts inserted in the Licenses; but the irregularities and abuses which seem to have led to the late law, have never been permitted in this quarter. I am Sir, With much regard, Your Mo. Obt Servt

HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT
U. S. I. A.

His Ex: Lewis Cass Supt. of Ind. Affairs Detroit

1824: AN ILLEGAL TRADER

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Letters Received, 1824, no. 2. Governor Cass.]

MACKINAC, 23d August, 1824.

DEAR SIR—On the 20th. Instant four Menominie Indians informed me thro' my Interpreter, John Tanner,[61] that they had engaged to take their trader, as they termed him, Mr. Farnsworth, to Green Bay. They were then informed by me expressly, that the laws and regulations would not permit them to take white men into their Country, without the passport or License from some Agent residing on these Waters, and that if they persisted in taking Farnsworth, they would be liable to be punished by stripes, whenever they should be again found on the Island. They assured me that he should not come on board their Canoe, and about two hours afterwards departed for Pointe Ste. Ignace, and as I have learned since, to await his arrival there. In the mean time Mr. Farnsworth had recourse to two Indians, belonging to the vicinity of the Grand River, who took him in defiance of my orders to Point Ste. Ignace, from whence he was brought back to this island, about 4 o'clock the same day, by a band of Ottowas, who were ordered by me on this service. On their arrival here with Farnsworth, who repaired immediately on landing to the village, the two Indians who had carried him away, were taken by my orders to the Garrison, and received 12 lashes each—with a request that they might be confined until the morning in the Guard-House. They had scarcely received their punishment, before the Sheriff appeared, with a writ of replevin to recover the Baggage and effects of Farnsworth, which the Indians had brought and deposited in the yard belonging to the Agency House, without my knowledge and before I was aware of their arrival. Next came the Marshal of the district with a

[61] For this person see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 134, note 78.—ED.

writ to bring me before the Justice's Court (John Dousman) on a charge, sworn to by Farnsworth, that I had aided and abetted in robbing this man of his *person* and property. By the bye, the property in question was delivered to the Sheriff, in about half an hour after it was deposited in my yard, and in the same situation in which it was received on board the Canoe of the Indians. The same evening, the Agent as well as the Indians were brought before the Court, the former directed to give Bail, to appear before the County Court in Decr. next, to answer such charges as may be then and there alledged against him, and the red-men, discharged, on the ground that their only crime, arose from their obeying the illegal orders of their Agent. The first decision of the learned Justice, was to have them punished by whipping, the 2d. to hold them to bail for their appearance at the Co. Court in December next: both these decisions however, were overruled by the greater sagacity of the Council employed, in this extreme case of oppressed humanity (Messrs. Beard[62] and Lee), and especially after I had stated distinctly to the Court, and to the Mob, that if the Indians had violated any law, they had erred thro' my means, and thro' my orders: and at the same time giving the Court to understand, that I protested against the legality of their proceedings, and that I should make them the ground of a strong remonstrance to your Excellency, as Governor and Superintendant of Indian Affairs of this territory.

The Bonds of this man [Farnsworth] for 1822 are now in suit, for selling whiskey to Indians, or rather for depositing 10 Barrels of Whiskey, on Cumingham's Island,[63] about 50 miles this side of Green Bay, and contiguous to the scene of his iniquituous transactions for the last two or three years. On my refusing him a licence for the last year, and on his return from the Sault, where he obtained one, he instituted

---

[62] See Baird's account of this incident, in *Id*, ii, pp. 84–86.—Ed.

[63] By Cumingham's Island is probably meant that called at present Green Island.—Ed.

a suit against me in a Justice's Court—and obtained a verdict against me for $80—to defray his travelling expences thither. The suit was appealed by me to the County Court, and at their last term in July last, the verdict of the first Court was again confirmed, by a Jury of Indian traders and greater damages awarded, viz $90. I have now removed it to the District Court. The opinion of Judges, Lawyers and the good people at large, (Indian traders and whiskey sellers especially included) is, that no license or passport can be withheld by the Agent, from any American Citizen applying therefor, and that any part of the Indians lands may be traversed in any direction and for every purpose, without the necessity of a passport from any Agent, or other Authority. In confirmation of this lawless disposition, I have the honor to inclose to your Excellency, the Copy of a note from the Commanding Officer of this post, who was present during the whole time of the trial in question—and stating succinctly the language held by the Court to the Indians.

I look for a justification of my conduct in the course pursued in this unpleasant business, as well from the spirit of the laws themselves, regulating trade and Intercourse with the Indian tribes, as from the 8th. paragraph of your Instructions, to this agency under date of the 22d. of April 1818, in the following words "It is intended that the internal police and concerns of the Indians, within the limits of the respective Agencies, shall be under the exclusive management and control of the proper Agents."

Hints have been thrown out by more than one Indian trader and others, that had Farnsworth been forcibly brought together with his baggage, to my Office, that the Indians, would have been shot down by the mob immediately, and that the Buildings, belonging to the U. S. and now occupied by the Agent, would have been razed to the ground! Mr. Rix Robinson, an Indian trader, has been conspicuously active in this business. He admitted in my office, as well as before the Court,

that it was by his influence, with *his Indians,* as he termed it, that they were finally induced to receive Farnsworth, on board their Canoe, in defiance of the orders of the Agent. I should be glad to hear from your Excellency, in reply to this communication, and more particularly that my conduct in relation to this business, meets your approbation, as well as that of the Government.

The time has now arrived, when the powers of the Agent, as well as the rights of traders, and others, should be clearly defined and settled—and to that end I would respectfully request, that a system of regulations, touching every point in dispute, be prepared under the authority of your Excy., for the government of all. By the bye, Major Whistler, has also been held to bail for suffering these Indians to be flogged at my request.

Having strong grounds for believing, that one of my Interpreters, Henry Graverat, is more in the pay and power of traders, than comports with the interest of the Government, or the honor of this Agency—and finding only at this late day, that he holds his appointment directly from your Excellency—I have to beg that you will do me the favor to revoke the same, in a letter to me on the subject—leaving him to be retained or dismissed the service by the Agent here, as may to him seem proper. He was discharged by me last year, for one or two months, on account of habitual drunkeness, and only reinstated on account of the helpless situation of his family, and with a promise of more correct conduct for the future. Mr. Lee, and others of the same stamp, I have since been informed, gave him to understand that the Agent here had not the power to discharge him. If this be the fact, and he should still be retained, contrary to my wishes and judgment, it is not to be supposed that a due and proper influence can be obtained over the Indians, under the control of this Agency.

Looking to your Excellency, with a full persuasion, that a remedy will be found for these outrageous abuses, on the laws of this territory, and of the U. States, I have the Honor

to be, With the highest respect and consideration Your Excys Most Obedt. and very Hle Servant

GEORGE BOYD
U. S. Indian Agent.

To His Excy. Lewis Cass, Governor of the territory of Michigan, and Superintendent of Indian Trade, etc. etc. etc. Detroit, M. Territory.

1824: CENSUS OF WISCONSIN INDIANS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Indian Office Miscellaneous Files, 1801–24.]

INDIAN AGENCY OFFICE GREEN BAY 1st. September 1824

Thomas L. Mc.Kenney, Esqr.

SIR—1st. This Agency is located three miles Above Fort Howard on the Fox, and on the the opposite shore.

2d. [Adjacent to] Munnóaminees, Winnebagos, Chippewas, Ottawaus, and some Putawatimies.

3d. Names of tribes	Courses	distance miles	Indians in Numbr
From Green Bay to Bay de Noque	N. N. W.	120.	
" " " little Bay de Noque-Chippeways	" " "	100.	50.
" " " Munnóaminee River Munno and Chippe	North	60.	90.
" " " Pishetagon River Munno and Chippe	North	45.	50.
" " " Caunton[64] River Munnóaminees	"	30.	30.
" " " Goose[65] River Munno and Chippe	N. E.	20.	12.
" " " Tail point Munno and Chippews	N. E.	45.	20.
" " " Sandy point in the Bay. Munnóaminees	" "	9.	20.
The little Kakalin and No. of Indians in its vicinity Munnóaminees	S. W.	9.	30.

[64] Now Oconto River.—ED.

[65] Pensaukee River. The name signifies "place of a brant:" a small variety of wild goose.—ED.

from Green Bay to big Kakalin	Munnoaminees	S. W.	18. 30.
" " " " the first rappids at the entrance of Winnebago Lake	Winneboagos	S. W.	36. 50.
" " " " Garlic Island	Winneboagos...	S. W.	45. 20.
" " " " Wolf village, and this side of the Butte de Mort	Winnebôages	S. W.	57. 50.
" " " " Font de Lake Munno and Winneb		S. W.	66. 40.
" " " " Village de Calumet	Munnóaminees South.....		57. 30.
" " " " Wilf River	Mun and Chip West		100. 100.
from Green Bay to Lake	Shawoinon Mun and Chipp West		75. 60.
" " " " Butte de Mort in Fox River to the Ouisconsin and the Indians in its vicinity	Winneboagos	S. W.	66. 114. 120.
from the portage of the Ouisconsin to the upper Ouisconsin	Winne and Munno North.....		120. 120.
from the portage of the Ouisconsin to Rock River	Winneboagos .....South		60. 150.
from the portage of the Ouisconsin to the Kuskawoinanque great village	Winneboagos .....South		100. 200
from Green Bay to Munnetoowock River	Ottawaus South		45. 25.
" " " " Millwackey-North side River Ottaw. Chipp. and the Indians in its vicinity	Putawatimies South		130. 300.

Hunters or Warriours, not including old men..... 1627.

Women and children, which may be put down at three times that number, as many of them have two wives.

4th. The most frequented rout is at present by water to Detroit in summer, in winter two or three expresses go the same rout nearly, but the best rout is by way of Chicago, and Fort Wayne.

5th. The number of whites in this vicinity and agency does not exceed one hundred and thirty men, seven women and twenty two children.

6th. The Rivers have been stated, being the principle residence of the Indians, the grounds about Fort Howard, low and level generally, at this place high and rolling, as is the country generally, the soil is claye and sandy loam, and very rich, there are no Mountains in this Agency. The region round

about is unusually healthy. I have the Honor to be, Sir Respectfully Your Obedient Servant,

Hy. B. Brevoort,
Indian Agent.

Thomas L. McKenney, Esqr. Washington City

1824: HARD TIMES AT GREEN BAY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Martin Papers.]

Michilimackinac 12th Sept 1824.

My Dear Friend—I received your much esteemed favor of the 22d. Ultim. the 7th Inst. it was handed me by William Dickson who I had not seen for Seven Years before you cannot conceive the great pleasure & consolation it gave me to receive a line from you my dearest of friends it shews your good disposition, let you be in what situation you please you do not forget your old friends it is not always the case in general with mankind when they find themselves in good circumstances & far off they soon forget their past friends but I see it is not the case with you. I have no very agreeable news to relate to you my Dear friend but if it is not tiring your patience too much I will give you a little detail of my situation in life. I will commence in saying that the first Year after the War was the last year I saved myself for every year since I have been loosing Money & not a little in that cursed Indian Trade that I have allways persisted and do Still persist to continue which will soon put me a beggar (but you may well say or ask the question why do you still continue since you find it a loosing business) I will say I do not know what to do else as I am not capable of doing or following any other kind of business I always lived in hopes but I am at last beginning to despair the old times is no more that pleasant reign is over & never to return any more I am a fraid and am certain in this Country any more I have had no chance in any way nor nothing thrown in my way to try & make some

money there has been a great number of U. S. Troops garrisoned or that [are] Stationed at Green Bay but what good does that do me it is only to assist in ruining of me & the Pilfering or general Stealing, Killing of Cattle, and commiting every kind of depredation that they can & do still continue that is the good they do for all their is upwards of 20 Officers on that Station one would suppose that would keep the men in good order & at the sentries & throw a good deal of Cash & make the place lively but far from that they are only paid once a year & it is only one man that benefits by it[66] I can assure you that I do not get one Dollar in a Month they are a nuisance to Society and in place of being put there for the protection of the place they are the destruction of it, all the officers seem to be on good & friendly terms towards me & always have been and pretend to shew me a great deal of respect before my face but that dont make the Pot Boil less of that kind of servility & more of the other kind of politeness would do better it is part of the 3rd Regiment of Infantry we have here 400 men & upwards now these misfortunes with the Indian Trade put together make a heavy Burthen for me to support Oh I wish I could have left the Country sometime ago I am the only unfortunate fellow of those that came in this Country at the same time with me I would have been happy to have taken a tour down by your way & have seen all my old friends & old places (say Fort York, Queenstown & Niagara those places that I realy feel partial to but I believe I must give up all hopes at least I wanted to go down to Montreal & Quebec but so it is I must remain it cannot be helped. I am born to be unfortunate.

* * * * * * * *

I am happy to hear that your Family is all in good health will make my best respects to Mr Hamilton[67] though I have

---

[66] This person was the sutler. See Baird's account of the soldiers' lawlessness in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, ii, pp. 84, 87, 89–91.—Ed.

[67] Probably Robert Hamilton of Queenston, for whom see *Id.*, xix, p. 276, note 97.—Ed.

not the pleasure & honor of being acquainted with him but thro you being one of my old intimate friends I take the liberty & kiss your little Children for me.

you mention that you did not know that Rolett was married the 2nd time he is & has got two Children by her & he is carrying on a great figure as you say he has had a run of Chance more than any person thrown in his way * * *

I suppose you heard of poor Mr Robert Dickson Death very suddenly after he died last year his Family told me when they past the Bay last year that Mr. Dickson had not that respect paid to his remains as he ought to have & was due him as an officer of Government &c &c so I wrote a long Letter to Mr. Anderson[68] about it but it was not true every thing was done honorably I wanted to keep all his Children with me when She passed with them She had consented at first & then she would not after they would have shared the same fate as me till they might have got in a better situation as I expected[69] [John Lawe]

1824: NECESSITY OF CREDITS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Draper MSS., 4T209.]

Rocky Island, 30th. Septr 1824

Sir—I have the honor to acquaint you that the deputation of Sauk and Fox Indians from this Country to the city of Washington arrived at the Sauk village in this vicinity on the 13th. Inst all in good health and to the great Satisfaction of their friends. Since the arrival of this deputation they have been frequently with me, and they express much satisfaction at the arrangement of their affairs with the Government as also for the good treatment they received while absent from their homes. On the 27th. instant all the principal Chiefs of the Sauks and

---

[68] Capt. Thomas Anderson, for whom see *ante*, p. 90, note 50.—Ed.

[69] It seems probable that this letter was written to Mrs. Hamilton, once Kitty Askin, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 242, note 55.—Ed.

Foxes called to see me, and said, that they understood that their Traders are not to be allowed to go into the Interiour of their country to receive their pay in Skins for Credits given them in goods by the Traders in the fall of the year, that they (the Sauks & Foxes) have been in the habit (for time immemorial) of receiving many goods on Credit every fall from the Traders, that without an extensive Credit from the Traders in goods every fall they cannot hunt to maintain their wives and Children. that the Game is now far distant from the Mississippi and it is impossible for them to travel a distance of from one to Two or Three hundred miles for a little Gunpowder or any other articles they might want and more particularly in the winter season while the Snow is on the ground, or in the months of February and March when they ought to be hunting Bear, Beaver and Otters. These Indians also said, that they have not a Sufficiency of horses to carry all their families and baggage into the Country they mean to hunt, how then (said they) can it be expected that we can bring out of the Interiour of the Country in the Spring of the year all our packs of Skins, Tallow and Jerked meat, the latter articles with corn is what we have to subsist on during the Summer Season, and without which our old people in particular must Starve and should our Traders refuse us Credits, what then is to become of us. We wish you (said these Indians) to write on to our Great Father the President, and request him that our Traders may be allowed to visit our hunting Camps to receive their payments and also Trade with us. I have no doubt but the Indians will suffer very materialy in the present arrangement of not suffering the Traders to go into the Interiour of the country to collect the Skins due them by the Indians. Indeed if ever the Traders refuse to give the Sauk and Fox Indians credit of arms, amunition, axes, Traps and some Blankets and strouds, the Indians must litterally starve, as they cannot commence their hunt & support their families without a Credit from the Traders every fall. I am &c

[Thomas Forsyth]

The Honorable J. C. Calhoun Secretary of War &c

1824: A TRADER'S CONTRACT

[Source, same as preceding document, but Wisconsin MSS., 63B139. Translated from the French.]

Agreed between the undersigned Augustin Grignon and Jacques Porlier of the one part and Amable Grignon for Paul & Amable Grignon of the other that Amable Grignon shall winter at the fond du lac des puants[70] in order to there carry on trade or commerce on the Common Account for one half of the gains or losses to be divided between him and the said parties of the first part. Each party to this agreement shall furnish an equal proportion of goods and other necessities. This partnership is to last until the return of the said Amable Grignon from that post at which time all shall be divided between the parties, each taking one half of whatever the Results may be.

In consequence of the services of the said Amable Grignon he shall be furnished by the parties of the first part with a suitable person to aid him in the trade or Commerce, the equipment to pay a third person required for the Service.

The said Amable Grignon agrees to have no other interest or to carry on any other trade or Commerce beyond the limits of the fond du lac des puants as this is understood according to Winterer's Customs, and particularly he shall not carry on any trade On the rivers of the renards nor the Wisconcing and their dependencies where such boundaries can not be correctly known, and likewise the said Augustin Grignon and Jacques Porlier for themselves and their employees agree not to carry on any trade nor have any personal interest in the fond du lac des puants and its dependencies as they may in like manner be understood.

Both parties shall have an equal right to trade on all of River a la Roche [Rock River].

The said Amable Grignon will remit his credits, both

[70] Near the present site of Fond du Lac, on Lake Winnebago.—Ed.

those of the Wisconsing and of the River of the renards to the said parties of the first part who will remit to him their half in Produce.

The trade for provisions is reserved for whichever of the parties has the opportunity at any place.

Thus agreed between the parties under penalty of damages of one Hundred dollars to be paid by the delinquent to the damaged party for which sum one and the other of the parties oblige themselves by these presents Thus was agreed and signed As follows[71]

4th October 1824

1824: LICENSES AT ROCK ISLAND

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Files, St. Louis, 1824–28.]

ROCKY ISLAND 11th. October 1824

SIR—In Compliance with your Circular of the 5th. June. last, I have the honor to report, that I have granted licences to the following persons to Trade with the Indians at the following places viz—

David G. Bates,[72] to Trade at Fever River with the Sauk Fox and Wenebagoe Indians who may visit that place.

Russel Farnham[73] to Trade at the Flint hills with the Sauk and Fox Indians.

Maurice Blondeau,[74] to Trade at the Dirt lodge high up the River de Moine with the Sauk and Fox Indians.

---

[71] This document is unsigned.—ED.

[72] David G. Bates was from Virginia, and in 1819 came out to the lead mines at Galena, Ill. He was a noted miner and steamboat captain; see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vi, p. 275, 290; xiii, p. 291; a biographical sketch is in *Proceedings*, 1911, p. 116.—ED.

[73] For Russell Farnham see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 417, note 99.—ED.

[74] The Blondeau family were early settlers of Mackinac (see Register in *Id*, xviii, xix). About 1798, however, several of the family migrated to Missouri, and took out Spanish grants. Maurice appears to have been a nephew of Barthelemi, the most noted trader of the family. The former was a Fox half-breed and traded with the tribe as early as 1801. Pike met him on the Mississippi in 1805, and took him in his

George Davenport[75] to Trade at Rocky Island with the Sauk Fox and Wenebagoe Indians that may visit this place.

Amos Farrar[76] to Trade at Fever River with the Sauk Fox and Wenebagoe Indians who may visit that place.

Antoine Gothier[77] to Trade with the Wenebagoe Indians on Rocky River.

---

boat from Dubuque to Prairie du Chien. During the War of 1812–15, Maurice was, at the instigation of the British, taken prisoner by the Sauk and his goods confiscated—a loss that was provided for in the treaty of 1824. He remained true to the American interests, despite British attempts to detach him from their side. He was made sub-agent to the Sauk, being employed as interpreter at the treaties of 1815. See *Id*, xiii, p. 110; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xii, pp. 449, 450. In 1818 he was an employee of the American Fur Company, and by 1821 had a farm on the Mississippi, seven miles above Keokuk. He accompanied the Indian delegation to Washington in 1824, and is said to have been instrumental in securing the grant of the half-breed tract in southeastern Iowa. He signed the Prairie du Chien treaty in 1825, but appears to have died some time before the Black Hawk War, and was buried near Flint Hills (now Burlington) Iowa. A street in Keokuk bears his name, and his descendants were living there in the middle of the nineteenth century.—Ed.

[75] Col. George Davenport was born in Lincolnshire, England, in 1783. Coming to America he enlisted in the army and after ten years' service went to Rock Island with the troops in 1816, and was in both the lead and Indian trade. His house was on Rock Island, and he was well-known to the Indians and early settlers of that region. For many years he was agent for the American Fur Company; accompanied the Indian delegation to Washington in 1837; and in 1835 laid out the Iowa city that bears his name. In 1845 he was robbed and murdered by a gang of white desperadoes at his Rock Island home.—Ed.

[76] Amos Farrar was one of the early traders among the Sauk, having obtained goods from Louis Devotion as early as 1816; later he entered Davenport's employ and was known to the early settlers of Galena, on whose site he had his post. He had a Fox Indian wife and several children who were long residents of Galena. He died of consumption in 1832.—Ed.

[77] Antoine Gautier was probably of the family of Langlade's nephew, Charles Gautier de Verville—for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 100; xviii, p. 136, note 77. In 1819 Antoine was trading at Fond du Lac of Lake Superior.—Ed.

The above are all the licences granted or will be granted by me this year, as there are no more Traders to come into this part of the Country this Season.

You will please observe that in several of the licences the same Nations of Indians are mentioned. for Instance the Sauk Indians are mentioned in all the licences granted by me except one, because the Sauks will visit Fever River and this place, the ensuing spring and summer. The distance from the Raccoon Fork of River do Moine to the Flint hills [Burlington] is great, and too far for an Indian to leave his hunt to travel for any small article he may want for the use of his family, This is the reason I granted a licence to Trade at the Dirt lodge on River de Moine. I have the honor to be Very Respectfully Your Obdt. Servt. THOMAS FORSYTH

The honorable John C. Calhoun Secretary of War Washington City.

1824: THE MENOMINEE RIVER POSTS

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark. Wisconsin MSS., 62B43.]

TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN COUNTY OF BROWN

Personally came before me the undersigned one of the Justices of the Peace in and for said County Paul Grignon Jr who being duly sworn deposeth and saith. That on the fourteenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty four he left the Township of Green Bay County and Territory aforesaid in company with Tenislaus Chapue and others for the Menominie River to take in charge the property at the said Menominie River belonging to Lewis Grignon of the Township, County and Territory aforesaid that he arrived there in the evening of the fifteenth of said month and that on sixteenth or day following said Chapue put in his possession sundry articles the property of the said Lewis Grignon (Viz) a house and store house four Stacks

1824: MILWAUKEE TRADERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 2C11.]

MILLIWAKEY 12. November 1824.

Judge Lawe

DEAR SIR—we arrived yesterday heare after a Longe & tedious journey, we might have been heare sooner, and it would have been to my Master a good deal better more to his advantage as M^r. B^en [Beaubien's] People as got the choise of the best Indians of this Plase. and given the Credits and Commission, I belive we are to get the Rifrafts those which are good for knowthing, however good lock would have it we seen no Indians at Manetowock or at Choboiagan so no Credits was maid and my Bourgois has his goods, and I am afraid will have the greatest part remaining this spring if he does not give them on Credit to those Indians which M^r. Bobien refused Credits to. M^r. Lashley[79] son Winters at Chabouigan and by M^ll Lepalieur[80] reports he as given Whiskey and got the Indians drunk at that plase, I went to him, mysealf and told him Magor Provott, [Brevoort] had told me he would send on soldier to get him off from there and that a Licence for that plase was even not granted to J. V[ieau] a man which has been a trader 40 Years in those plases, &c &c M^r. James Kinsey is here an [in] opposition to M^r. B^en & J. V. Ocaman Paso his heare and verry la Daying [Sic]. M^r. Bobien as

[79] Lasley (Lashley) was an early settler of Mackinac, being one of the few Americans on the island at its capture in 1812. He took the British oath of allegiance, however, and was permitted to remain. He appears to have come from Pennsylvania, and for many years kept a tavern at Mackinac. Two of his sons were in the fur-trade—Samuel, a clerk in 1819 for the American Fur Company at St. Joseph's and on the Wabash; and William, who later settled at Muskegon, Mich.—ED.

[80] This is the person whose letter appears in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 400, 401; see accompanying note 46.—ED.

an outfit towards Lake du Puan at Kaskawnone[81]. ore [our] License says on the North East of Milliwakey said River but J. V. will have his own way we are in a fork of a River[82] 5 or 6 Miles from the Milliwakey River in his old House as he is accustom to winter knowthing else to mention you, it is all the Newes [MS. torn] got. I hope my Familey is well, and [MS. torn] be so good as to write me by first oppertunity [Ms torn] now about my Familey, and J. Vieaux [Ms torn] M^r. M^le. [Michael] Douseman to speak to The [Indian] Agent Magor Provott that he got heare so late impossible to Build a House and store on The River Milliwackey and Oblige to Winter in his old House, but intends to build a House in the spring on The River North east side and to have the goodness by first Oppertunity to write him about it as it is a great importance. I remain my Dear Sir with Respect your Obedient H. Servant J. B^test Jacobs

N. B. begs of you as M^r. Douseman may not be there at the Bay, yoursealf have the goodness to get a permitt from the I. Agent M^r. Provott that he may winter in his House he did not think to let him know of it at the Bay and it was onley on the way that we lookd to the License and [it] says North East of Milliwakey River and to write to him immidiately by an Indian or white man and he will pay the man if aney dainger in wintering in his House, Rivier a la folle [Menominee] let me know about my poor Famely.

B^te Jacobs

[*John*] *Lawe Green Bay.*

Endorsed: Letter from Jacobs dated Milliwakey 12th Nov. 1824. not answered

---

[81] Possibly the village of the Potawatomi Chief Kewaskum, which was on Pike Lake, near Hartford, Washington County. This chief died shortly before the platting of the town of that name, which event occurred in 1849.—Ed.

[82] The Menominee River at Milwaukee. For the site and probable appearance of Jacques Vieau's post see James S. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee* (Milwaukee, 1890), p. 55. See also what Vieau's sons reported in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xi, pp. 221, 222; xv, p. 460.—Ed.

1824: POST AT SHEBOYGAN

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office. Letters Received, 1824, no. 2, Governor Cass.]

GREEN BAY, 1st December. 1824.

His Excellency, Lewis Cass,

SIR—I herewith inclose my abstracts and vouchers, for the quarter ending on the 30th. November,

In addition to the number of places for trading in the Indian country, I would recommend the river shipburgen [Sheboygan], about sixty miles south of this place, and nearly half way to Mil wah kie, it being a great place of resort for Indians in the spring, for the purpose of taking White fish for their summers food, I remain Sir Respectfully, Your Obedient Servant—

HY. B. BREVOORT,
Indian Agent

1824: EN ROUTE FOR WINTER QUARTERS

[MS. is Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 17B30. Translated from the French.]

Mr. Aug. Grignon

SIR—I write you from the portage where I arrived in the night between the 3d and the 4th, after having been detained at Lake Apapuois [Puckaway] 19 days during which I came here to bring some merchandise. I found here one tenth of the puants who awaited me. I have done a little trading with them, and Charles left with 2 men to follow them. I have no news of the folles of the upper Wisconsing, as soon as the Ice will permit Chapu will go and stay in lodge at the entrance of la Manai. In consequence I dispatch to you one of my men to get the irons to iron 3 Horses. you will apply to Garriepy for Mine, he knows his foot, it is the Horse of françois that he had. The 2nd is the mare of françois whose irons have been put on for me at Mr. Lawe's, with two other pairs for

the Company, of which I should have a pair for the mare in case of need; have these repaired this time by Garriepy and have him put in more nails than are necessary in case of need. Send back my man as soon as possible with the 3 pairs of irons for the 3 Horses. I find myself very badly off for provisions and with men who are worse than wolves, and worth nothing. I found the band of ruban at the Lake du boeuf. I traded with them and gave them a little Credit.

The puants have been furnished with credit by Mr. Rolette and I have one Chance to Cover the trade or to lose My Merchandise. I have about 600 rats, 12 otters, 50 deer skins, some mink, skunks and Wild Cats, all good. We must not lose Courage although the Misfortune of having been stopped by the ice has done us Great harm. Keep well, my Compliments to your family I am Your very humble Servant

Jq Porlier

5th December 1824

I have set Jacques [L] Ecuyer free since he has been taken with an illness that demands the physician. I send you his note.

Mr. Aug. Grignon at the Cakalin

1824: SAUK AND FOX TRADERS.

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Draper Mss., 4T213–216.]

St. Louis 13th Dec. 1824

Sir—In Compliance with your Circular of the 8th. Inst, I have the honor to report to the names of the persons to whom I have granted Licences to this year, as also the places where the Traders are located for the purpose of Trading with the Indians.

David G. Bates at the houses or settlement at Fever River, to Trade with the Sauks and Foxes & Wenebagoe Indians. This place may be considered as the permanent place for the

Fox Indians, yet the Wenebagoe Indians from the Waters of Rocky River, and when the Sauks go up to that place they also trade with the Traders of Fever River.

Russel Farnham to Trade at the Flint Hills with the Sauk and Fox Indians, as they generally mingle together in their hunting excursions, but as there are more Sauks than Foxes who Trade at the Flint Hills, this place may be considered as a permament place of Trade for the Sauk Indians.

Maurice Blondeau to Trade with the Sauk and Fox Indians at the Dirt Lodge a place high up the River de Moin. This place is near the hunting country of the Indians and it was at the Indians request that a Trader was Licensed to Trade at the Dirt Lodge. You will observe that the Flint Hills & Dirt Lodge are places of Trade with the Indians from the months of September to April only, there being no Traders at those places during the Summer Months.

George Davenport to Trade at Rocky Island with the Sauk, Fox, & Wenebagoe Indians who may visit that place. Rocky Island is a Central position and is visited (during the Summer months in particular) by the Sauks, Fox, Wenebagoe, Kickapoo, Potowatimie and some Menominie Indians. This place cannot be considered as a permament place of Trade for any one Nation of Indians, but for many as above-mentioned.

Amos Farrar to Trade at the houses or Settlement on Fever River with the Sauk, Fox & Wenebagoe Indians who may visit that place.

Antoine Gothier to Trade with the Wenebagoes Indians at a point on Rocky River (which has no name) about fifty miles East from Rocky Island. It was at the particular request of the Wenebagoe Indians that I granted a Licence to A. Gothier to Trade at the beforementioned place, as they Stated, that, having a Trader in Rocky River they would not have any occasion to come to Trade at Rocky Island, by which means their women would not Steal the Sauk Indians Corn.

Having no quarters on Rocky Island and all the Indians having left their different villages to go towards the Country they mean to hunt, I came to this place in Ocober last and have

to request your permission to remain here until April next with my family. Very few Indians visit Rocky Island during the winter Season and those who do visit that place during that season it is for the purpose of Trade and to procure some corn from their Cashes [caches] for their family use. The Indian Chiefs never return to their villages before the middle of May & in some instances not until the middle of June, therefore I can be more than early enough to meet the Chiefs in the Spring and also a place of some kind may be procured by that time for me to reside in, until sufficient quarters are prepared. I am &c

[Thomas Forsyth]

Genl. William Clark, S. I. Affs. St. Louis.

1824: TRADING HOUSE SITES

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Files, St. Louis, 1824–28.]

St. Louis, Decbr. 13th, 1824

William Clark Esqr. Suptd. Ind. Affrs.

Dear Sir—In compliance with your request of the 8th Inst. I beg leave to name the following places within the limits of my agency as being suitable for the location of Indian Traders Viz—

Location 1st.

At the Mountain in the Water [Trempealeau]. This place is recommended in preference to the Sioux Village on the Ioway River, because it is a Stopping place for the Winebeagoes and Menominies, Who assend and descend the Mississippi, and convenient for Wabashas band of Sioux to resort to for their supplies of goods, and being a place where abundance of fire wood can be procured.

Location 2nd.

At the Falls in Black River The Menominies hunt on

this River, and the location at the Falls would enable them to get their supplies in the winter without being compelled to go a great distance for them.

Location 3rd.

At the Portage of the Wisconsin. A great number of the Wenebagoes hunt in the vecinity of this place, and resort to it in the Spring to cultivate their corn fields.

Previous to my departure from the Prairie du Chien, no application had been made to me for Licences for the Trade of this Season, I presume however that Col. Morgan (Who is acting for me at the Prairie du Chien) has granted Licences to Trade at the above mentioned places.

The ill State of my healt [sic] at the Prairie du Chien, was such, that it was recommended as being necessary for me to absent my self for a short time, Since my arrival at this place it as improved much, and I hope I shall be able to return to my Post very early in the Spring; Was it possible for me to return at the present moment I would do so. Very Respectfully Dear Sir Your Obdt. Sert.

NICHOLAS BOILVIN

Endorsed: Report of places designated for carrying on Trade with the Different Indian Tribes within the Superintendency of William Clark.

ST. LOUIS 14th. Decbr. 1824

SIR—In compliance with your Instructions I have the honor to report the following places as chosen for the location of Traders among the Indians for which I am Agent.

For the Sauk Indians, The Flint hills on the West Bank of the Mississippi being a permanent place.

For the Sauk Indians, the Dirt Lodge, high up the River de Moine, is a place temporary chosen, at the request of the Indians themselves, being near the hunting Country of Said Indians.

KEE-O-TUCK, OR THE WATCHING FOX

Chief of the Sauk; as he appeared at Prairie du Chien treaty, 1825.
From contemporary colored lithograph by J. O. Lewis

For the Wenebagoes Indians, Rocky Island being a permanent place of Trade.

For the Wenebagoes Indians, a place Fifty Miles East of Rocky Island, being a place temporary chosen at the request of the Wenebagoes Indians themselves.

At the houses or Settlement at Fever River being a permanent place of Trade for the Fox Indians.

The Dirt Lodge and the place fifty Miles East of Rocky Island, on Rocky River are only temporary places of Trade, and the Indians may next year extend their hunting excursions to other part of the Country, and request the places of the Traders, now at Dirt Lodge and place fifty Miles East of Rocky Island to be removed to some other point.

Very Respectfully I Remain Your Obdt. Sert.

THOMAS FORSYTH

Genl. William Clark Suptd. Ind. Affrs. St. Louis.

Endorsed: Report of places designated for carrying on Trade with the Different Indian Tribes within the Superintendency of William Clark.

1824. MILWAUKEE IN CHICAGO AGENCY

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 17B64.]

MILLIWAKY 21 Decembr 1824

DEAR SIR—M^{r}. J. Vieaux, is mush surpris'd that you did not give an answer to the important and of great concequense towards him that Letter he wrote you by his son Paul, of 14 November last I told him proberbly the Letter got Lost otherwise you would give him an Answer. Hell, and every thing goes bad here onley 3 Packs at this time Last Winter about this time he had 20 Packs and I believe we are going to starve we onley have 4 B^{ll} of Corn to pass the Winter and cannot get more we arived so Late that M^{r} Beaubien got all the Corn and all the good Indians of this Plase. it appears M^{r}. James Kinzey has writin a Letter to the Agent of Chicago

that J. Vieaux was on Derwin and turn out a Man out of the Lodges, and I suppose we are not in the territory of the Indian Agent of Green Bay but we are in the Dependence of Chicago, and that was the reason he wrote you last fall but got no answer as to Derwin. J. Vieaux did not began first, he was to the Indians to get Corn, and as to my part, I expect to here from you, your health and Family and about my Children. However Wishing you health and Prosperity Respectfully your obedient Servt. J. B^{t}. S. Jacobs.

Judge Lawe at Green Bay

1825: EXPLANATIONS OF AGENT

[Source, same as preceding document, but 18B10.]

Mackinac January 25th 1825

John Lawe Esqr.

Dear Sir—Your esteemed favors of 15th Nov^{r}. & 1st Dec^{r}. last, were delivered to me by Cap^{t}. Burnham. You are correct as to my mistaking the name of the vessel in which the Green Bay C$^{o's}$. Deer skins came down; but I rec^{d}. no letter per Pontiac, nor any account of the Packs, this however shall make no difference, as I will have them counted and weighed on their being opened in the spring; they having come too late, to be forwarded this last autumn.

I have reflected a good deal on your alternatives relative to the Bay Indians; and readily admit that it was difficult to determine which might be the most proper course to pursue: I am by no means inclined to find fault or dictate to you what is or what is not the best manner of conducting the trade; for it is a subject of which I have neither experience nor much information; yet as a party interested, I took upon myself to suggest what appeared to me, the safest mode of dealing with such a froward set of rogues as you have to manage; and experience has taught me that the most ruinous practice attending our business generally is the excessive credits which the traders have got into the habit of making—these Sir, with

sincere regard for your character, as a judicious and safe trader, were my only motives in giving you any intimation respecting the business, nor did I mean that you should regard such hints as instructions, but mere surmises, perhaps worthy of reflection.

I am sorry that it was out of my power to send you any further supplies; by your next express let me know the articles you may stand most in need of in the spring, and I will forward what can be procured by the first vessel.

You do well to stick so close to the Major [Brevoort], for it is only by constantly exposing to view the intriging and deceptions of your good neighbours that we can hope to keep them at all within the bounds of reason; be careful of your own proceedings, and expose their improper conduct fully to his satisfaction.

That M^r. Porlier should be so long on his way to his wintering ground is unaccountable and must be very injurious to his trade. I rec^d. a letter from M^r. Rolette, stating that a number of your Indians, who had been waiting for M^r. P. began to despair of his arrival, and went to the Prairie to trade and take credits; and to keep them from Lockwood, &c: he of course complied with their wishes: he expects you will complain of this but avers that he had no compact, nor understanding with the Indians, previous to their arrival at the Prairie: let his conduct be what it may, the Bay Gentlemen are certainly much to blame for their tardy movements, they never get to their places of trade in good season, and consequently must suffer fatal results.

You entirely misconstrue the motives through which M^c. Gulpin[83] was sent up, for I insisted on this arrangement, principally on the ground of equity, as M^r. Dousman left the Bay himself, it was but just that he should furnish somebody to take at least the drudgery of the business off your hands: and

[83] Probably Henry McGulpin, born at Mackinac June 10, 1797; see *Id*, xix, p. 114. A number of his letters to Joseph J. Porlier are among the Society's Wisconsin MSS.—Ed.

I stated the manner in which I thought you might render him most serviceable, same time incur the least responsibility yourself, exclusive of this advantage, my impression was, that it would be more consonant with your view and feelings to have one under your control, who might appear ostensibly in charge of the business, and give you thereby the advantage of either making or refusing Credits, without bringing on yourself the envy or ill will of anybody—as to my recommending you to make him keep the accounts &c: I thought it would be attributed to any thing else than want of confidence, for if you will reflect but for one moment it must appear evident that at the same time it leaves you the perfect control of every part of the business it puts it out of the power of malice itself to implicate you on the ground of any *imaginary circumstance,* for every thing shall have gone through the hands of a disinterested person, besides he will be a competent witness in any case of difficulty, which you cannot be. You are to look on M^cGulpin merely as your clerk, for he was sent, on account of M^r. Dousman, simply to aid you in the details of the business, or whatever else you might direct him to do. Your apprehension of suspicion resting against you is perfectly groundless, for to be assured, of what I once told you, viz: that where we have good reason to doubt the propriety of a man's conduct, or his integrity our business soon closes with him, and he shall always be made acquainted with the reason. I think my conduct and behavior toward you last summer should be sufficient evidence of your possessing my entire confidence; and nothing has since occurred to effect a change.

* * * * * * * *

M^r. D. has never directly nor indirectly endeavored to supplant you in my esteem, but on the contrary he has frequently said a good deal of your honest principles, as well as of many other laudable traits in your character. You remark that you always made out to pay a certain person honorably, and that you hope you will be able to do so *elsewhere* &c, from this paragraph I am inclined to infer that you suppose

me capable of assuming a right to dictate to you, on the ground of your being indebted to the C°, but if this is the case, you do me much injustice, for my only motives are disinterested friendship; and that merely, because I think you worthy of it, so, you are under no obligation, the merit being all your own.

Last fall I wrote M^r. Rouse, to procure & send me next spring, from 3 to 5 Cords of *barked* Oak, to make kegs, it should be as straight grained as possible, & free of knots, and split into blocks 44 inches long; also about 2000 Hickory Hoop-poles 5 to 6 feet long, straight, and without knots, from 1 to 3 inches diameter; and stuff to make 50 to 100 axe helves—should he not undertake the job, I hope that you will be good enough to have it done, as soon as practicable, and send it down by the first vessel in the spring.

Pray write or inform M^r Jean Vieaux, that I beg he will not throw away the Goods, but unless he can obtain a good price let him keep them on hand, for they will cost more next year, than they did this, and if others are foolish enough to throw away their property in the heat of opposition, it is no reason he should do so also. M^rs Stuart desires to be kindly rem^d to you, and believe me to be with much regard Dear Sir Your M°. Ob^t. Serv^t. ROBERT STUART

John Lawe Esqr Green Bay Via Fort Wayne & Chicago[84]

1825: THE POST AT FOND DU LAC

[Source, same as preceding document, but 18B20. Translated from the French.]

FOND DU LAC 24 February 1825

DEAR UNCLE—We arrived here the 23^d Instant without having had too much difficulty Except at the village of Callumet, where we sank in a crack, by chance the Mare found

[84] The usual winter route for mail carriers.—ED.

the bottom of a bucket. She pulled out on the Ice. On the subject of my Bourgeois [Amable] who feared to be blamed, I have the pleasure of informing you to the contrary, that he has not only not played tricks on me which was my Greatest dread, but also I have never seen him in better humor for which I am delighted.

As for the pouch you claim, it appears that it does not belong to you but to my uncle Paul; and the other is his own, and he makes out that he has no pouch of yours.

He sends by Robert a gun which you will have the kindness to have mended and send to my Uncle Charles's house as well as a livre or two of vermillon with some sanguine.

In Addition send thirty to fifty livres of flour if it does not bother you. In doing so you will oblige your friend. I am with [all] the Consideration possible Your very humble and very obedient Servant, for Amable Grignon[85]

BERNARD GRIGNON

Many Compliments to all the family.

Monsieur Augustin Grignon, au Cacalin.

1825: PRICES FOR FURS

[Source, same as preceding document, but 2C17.]

ON BOARD THE STEAM BOAT ON THE OHIO RIVER 25 Feby 1825

MY DEAR SIR—Although I cannot give you any very flattering account of the prospects for skins next Season, still I think you will like to know the existing state of the Fur market

From the failure of the ordinary supply of Nutria skins from South America, our Muskrats have again got somewhat into use with our Hatters, and we had every reason to hope that by the time your returns arrived at Mackinac, there

[85] Amable Grignon was the *bourgeois* in charge of the post; Bernard acted as his clerk.—ED.

would have been a good improvement in the value of that article: but in consequence of the partial rise in their price in this country, our speculators sent to London and bought up all the Muskrats of the Hudson Bay Company and others in that market: about 300,000 of which have arrived, and are on their way to the United States. This I fear will again cause depression in price but I still look upon Muskrats as the safest article you can get, and I would advise you by all means to make your collection of them as large as possible, for I believe they will be worth probably 2 or 3 cents more than last season.

Deer will not perhaps bring last Summer's prices but the decline will not I think be great.

Early in the fall Martens did well: but it was before ours got into market, and there is reason to believe they will decline to former rate.

All other skins remain much the same as for the last year, and I think that you may look with confidence for prices equal to those obtained at Mackinac the past season.

M^r^. Robert Stuart has informed me of the connection of M^r^. Dousman in your trade of this season, and most fervently hope your affairs will prove prosperous.

Your land claims which were reported on favorably by the Commissioners, would all have been confirmed at the present session of Congress, but for M^r^ Crawfords ill health, which prevented his making a report of them to the national legislature, a form which the law requires as indispensable to their confirmation, and if our Rev^d^. Delegate M^r^. Richard, would ever exert himself now, the affair might yet be accomplished before Congress rises. I however believe our Delegate is in too bad a state of health to attempt it, and were he even well, I would not have much faith in his effecting an object so desirable.

I hope by your electing so able a Representative as Major

Biddle,[86] will make that the business of the Territory will be efficiently managed in future.

Remember me to your family & all friends, and believe me, with best wishes for your health & happiness Dear John Yours truly RAMY CROOKS

Mr. John Lawe Green Bay Care of the Postmaster Fort Wayne Indiana.

1825: LICENSES CONFLICT

[Source, same as preceding document, but Draper MSS., 4T222, 223.]

ROCKY ISLAND 22nd April 1825

SIR—I have the honor to acquaint you that I arrived here on the 19th Inst. and have to say that very many Indians of this Agency have not as yet arrived at their Villages particularly the Beaver hunters among whom are some of the principal Chiefs. There is not as yet a Stick of timber on the ground where the buildings are to be erected for the use of this agency but a party of troops are now over the River cutting and hewing Timber for these buildings but when the[y] will be finished is hard to say, and I am thankful to the Surgeon of Fort Armstrong for part of his small quarters, otherwise I must have layen with the few articles belonging to the department in the woods.

There is News here from Red River, that the Hudson Bay Company have paid (probably last year to the American Furr Company the immense sum of half a Million of dollars not to extend their Trade to the River Columbia.

I would thank you to send me by first opportunity a Copy of the law respecting Indian affairs passed in May last. It is truly lamentable that the white people will continue to sell such quantities of Whisky to Indians. A Sauk Chief told me yester-

[86] Maj. John Biddle was in 1825 a candidate for election as delegate to Congress from Michigan Territory; but he did not secure an election until the next Congress.—ED.

day that as fast as one cargo of whisky was finished another arrived and when the Indians would be done drinking he said he could not tell. I am well informed that a certain Mr. Dubois a Clerk of Joseph Rolettes at Piraries des Chien passed last winter a Trading with the Indians between Dubuques Mine & Pirarie des Chien under a Licence from the Indian Agent at that place. I am also informed that preparations are making by same Rolette to make an Establishment at Dubuque's Mines to trade lead there the ensuing Summer. It would appear from all this that the places located for Trade with the Indians avails nothing, as another agent (Mr. Boilvin) gives licences to Trade within this agency agreeable to the request of the applicant. Many persons have applied to me for Licences or permits to Trade at Dubuques Mine all of which I have refused on the principle that Fever River being located for the purpose of Trading with the Indians.

I have to hope, that the business of one agent giving Licences to people to Trade within the agency of another may be remedied. This will be handed to you by Mr. Davenport to whom I must refer you to for all particulars. I am &c

[Thomas Forsyth]

Genl. W. Clark, S. I. Affs. St. Louis.

1825: THE SPRING CREDITS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Wisconsin MSS., 19B57. Translated from the French.]

Dear Sir—I have sent our Credits to Mr. Charles and some merchandise that I think may be necessary at the Butte as it appears that there will be a little Trading there.

Charles the bearer of this is to aid you, as I suppose that you will be there in a little while, which I consider to be very necessary.

It appears that Baupré has had great promises made to the puants [Winnebago] who have not been willing to trade here

to [the amount] of 30 rats. I much fear that they will get to the Butte before my invoice, when Mr. Charles will not have a Chance with Baupré.

Chapu will not leave here until after the folles [Menominee] come down. I think that will not be for 10 or 15 Days, As for me I can not calculate at what time I can get away. I am sending tomorrow to see if there is any Hunt made at the 4 lakes. I am left with 2 barrels of Whiskey with which I have one Chance. Until the pleasure of seeing you I am your Servant and Friend Jq Porlier

Mr. Aug. Grignon

Endorsed: 1825[87] Jq. Porlier Portage of the Wisconsing

[Source, same as preceding document, but 18B49.]

Cantone [Oconto] 18th May 1825

Dear Sir—Farnsworth arrived here Monday & the Indians only came down Tuesday from Lake Chawaynon [Shawano] The trade we both made here is mearly an exchange of Goods & fur for we made nothing to any Consequence.

I have drawn about 20 Rats on your Credits & traded 100 & 7 D[r] Skins, a few minks & bear skins, Farnsworth being able to run to bay of the Knox [Bay de Noquet] much faster than I can being with a Light Canoe & Strong manded

I am sorry to inform you that I am forced to make an agreement with him for he Sells Low, & by putting Equal share of Goods to Trade I presume we may trade to Some advantage. Had my Canoe been better I would done my endeavour to proceed there sooner than him but its impossible for me to do so.

Your now the best Judge weather I done wrong or not—but Ive done for the best & if I done wrong, I would be very sorry.

---

[87] This letter bears no date; but the endorsement and internal evidence refer it to the spring months of 1825.—Ed.

Farnsworth sold ten strouds for 1 otter & 6 Rats. I am now on my way to the followaine [Menominee] River.

I remain yours very Respectfully

H. B. McGulpin

I enclose you also a letter from Dousman, head winds has Detained us all the time. Indians were all in the way when I arrived here & been so all the time, Farnsworth very [soon] got his man C. stabed, by an Indian from above. Ive got 15 traps & 4 Guns from the Indians Farnsworth furnishes his boat and as many men as my self Saketake will [be] in Sturgeon [Bay] 4 days from this.

Judge Lawe G. Bay

1825: TRADING SITES

[Source, same as preceding document, but Draper MSS., 4T231, 232.]

Rocky Island 31st. May 1825

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th Inst. enclosing me a list of places where the Traders are to be located to trade with the different Indian Nations within your Superintendence and find that one place mentioned by me in my report to you of the 14th December last has escaped your attention viz Rocky Island for the Sauk Nation of Indians.

I have the honor to report to you that there has been no Traders at the Dirt Lodge on River de Moine, Flint Hills or at the place fifty miles up Rocky River since the Spring Trade ended and what little summer trade there may be will center at this place and at the Settlement on Fever River with the exception of that part, that may and no doubt will be (in the course of next summer) traded in the Settlements of Illinois and Missouri for whisky.

David G. Bates and Amos Farrar continue to trade at the Settlement on Fever River under licenses granted to them by me. George Davenport continues to Trade on this Island un-

der a license from me. The other Traders to whom I granted licenses to, to trade with the Indians at the Dirt Lodge on River des Moine, Flint Hills & place 50 Miles up Rocky river are I presume in St. Louis, and dont wish to seek after the summer trade of the Indians, as that trade will not justify the expense they must be at to collect a few summer deerskins. I am &c

[Thomas Forsyth]

General W. Clark, S. I. Affs. St. Louis.

1825: THE GREEN BAY COMPANY

[Source, same as preceding document, but Wisconsin MSS., 2C24.]

Mr. Porlier has permission to pass into the Indian Country as far as the portage for the purpose of taking care of his property at that place, and to take with him the necessary Sea stores for the Voyage H. B. Brevoort

Indian Agent

Green Bay 9th. June 1825

[Source, same as preceding document, but 19B9.]

Mackinac Augt. 13th 1825

Messrs. Lawe & Dousman

Dear Sir:—As you are on the eve of your departure, it may not be amiss that I should give you some of my views, relative to the general policy which I think the present situation of the trade of the Green Bay country, renders advisable. In the first place, I trust you will make no more credits to Indians, than will barely enable them to hunt, and even that, to such only as you know to be well disposed to pay; for if you make large credits, and cannot collect them, your opponents must inevitably triumph over you. To whites, I have more particularly to request that you make no advance, for they have neither means, nor disposition to pay, so let your

business with them, be a cash one, or none at all; there is already a large outstanding debt with Jourdain, the Blacksmith, which I trust you will be able to collect this season; however I need say but little on this head, as you both understand, that such bad debts as either of you may make with those not connected with us in the trade, is to be Dr. to your private a/c. With Farnsworth it would be desirable to have a written agreement, explaining the line of conduct he should pursue, and that he is to deal with no one else in any shape whatever; his Outfit ought not to exceed $1200, for the resources of his post cannot support more: get him to give you an Inventory of the remains of last spring; and if he cannot procure a license from Major Brevoort, I think you had better not advance him any Goods; in which case, you will of course send some one else in his place.

Should you be able to supply Amable & Hypolite[Paul] Grignon, it would probably be best to do so, as it might tend to combine the old inhabitants together, and prevent most of the peltries from falling into the hands of your neighbours.

If you find the Trade hard pushed, perhaps it may be well for Mr. Dousman to have a small establishment near to, or at Shanty-town; this however, is a mere suggestion.

Endeavor to get from Messrs. Porlier & Grignon an Inventory of the last spring goods, which send me; and pray urge them to start early for their winterng ground, so as to ensure them of the fall hunt, for they have been heretofore extremely tardy. The Charter of the Tiger is $120, free passage for yourselves & men; you will therefore charge Messrs. P. & G., as also Farnsworth, 1 1-2 per Cent on the foot of their Invoice, for freight & risk.

As no doubt can exist of your intelligence, activity, & prudence, I most willingly confide to your management, the deep interest we have in the affairs of your department, & remain with esteem Dear Sir Your friend & obt. Servt.

Robert Stuart
Agt. Am. Fur. Co

P. S. The two Kegs of inferior Tobacco, which the C°. had at the Bay, I have transferred to your Outfit, it is in your Invoice at 8cts. per lb. David Stone & C° had 4 Kegs tob: at the Bay, one of which, was taken by Mr. Lawe last spring, you had better take the other 3 to account & Mr. Dousman will please bring me the account of them, so as to enable us to Dr. your Outfit & Cr. Messrs. D. Stone & C°

I will take what Good Pease and Oats, you can procure, at 75 Cents for Pease & 40 Cents for Oats, delivered here. please send me word what probable quantity you may be able to obtain &c. I do not want more than 200 Bus. Pease and 300 of Oats.

You will perceive that your Invoice at Cost & Charges amounts to about $10,800 including the freight & Mr. Porlier's advance in Retail Store this with your Inventories, will be considerably more than the resources of your country would justify but, I know if you cannot make the returns, you will take good care of the property.

Jean Vieaux owes the Am. Fur C°. $17.96 which please collect; you have his a/c & note herewith.

Messrs Dousman & Lawe Present.

Endorsed: Letter of Instructions by Robert Stuart Agent Am. Fur Co dated MKena Augt 13 1825 recd in person 14, 1825 ans. 21st 1825

1825: TRADER AMONG FOXES

[Source, same as preceding document, but Draper MSS., 4T244.]

Rocky Island 18th. Septr. 1825.

Sir—I have the honor to acquaint you, that while at P[rairie] des Chiens, the Chiefs of the Fox Nation of Indians requested that Traders might be allowed to Trade with the Indians at a little Prarie on an Island which is opposite to the Little Macoketey [Maquoketa] River, on this request, I have granted, a

Licence to a Mr. Dubois a few days ago to trade with the Indians at that place. I am &c

[Thomas Forsyth]

Genl. W. Clark S. I. Affs. St. Louis.

1825: OPPOSITION TRADERS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Wisconsin MSS., 19B29.]

Green Bay 24th September, 1825.

Dear Sir—I merely drop you these few Lines to acquaint you that the Agent Sent after Hartsells Boat that had started the day before Yesterday for to go to the Illinois River to winter there, the Cause I believe was that the Agent sent after them was that the Boat had taken off his Man Servent. Hartsell & Arndt[88] got there [their] goods put in the House after they were Seized so that the Agent has not got them in his possession. I do not know what will be the result the trial is coming on tomorrow. Capt Arndt thinks that he has the Advantage of the Agent but as I have been informed this Moment that Captn. Arndt Should have expressed himself in these words that if the Cause went against him he would do all he could to injure others & watch them, for the Agent only done so to Stop his Boat merely to favor the American Fur Companys or their people so I

[88] John P. Arndt was born in Pennsylvania in 1780. For several years he was concerned in boat-building and merchandising at Wilkesbarre, whence after the financial crisis of 1817 he made his way to Buffalo, and shortly after to Mackinac. In 1822 he removed his family to the island, and two years later to Green Bay, where in 1825 he established the first ferry. He also opened a tavern and began building boats, and in 1827 built a saw-mill on Devil Creek. Arndt was a notable character in old Green Bay; having been county justice of the peace, and in 1842 probate judge, he was commonly known as Judge Arndt. In the Territorial Council he was a member for three successive terms, 1836–38; was early concerned in the Fox-Wisconsin river improvement; and was contractor for provisions at several Indian treaties. He died at Green Bay in 1861. See John Wallace Arndt (his son), "Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River," in Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1912.—Ed.

only inform you just as I have heard it so. I cannot say how it is myself if he said so or not. so I give you merely a warning in case he might try & watch you so you may have the same chance to try & watch his people the same way & please Warn Amable & the others that you have in your employ for their all to take care & at the same time let them look out for their adversaries in their turn since it will come to that Game let us make good use of it as well as them . nothing more Interesting wishing you a quick passage up with best regards to Jaque & Augustin, Chaput, Amable &cc I remain Yours

J. L[AWE]

James Porlier Esquire En Route per favor of Petetan

1825: EVILS OF USE OF LIQUORS IN FUR-TRADE

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Miscellaneous Files, 1824–26.]

DETROIT August 23d, 1825.

SIR—In former letters addressed to the Department of War I have adverted to the mischievous consequences resulting from the introduction of whisky and other distilled spirits into the Indian country. (I have represented that I was informed by several persons, and in one instance the fact was admitted by the trader himself, that whisky was introduced into the Chippewa country with the sanction of the Indian agents on the Lakes.) The pretext (for this indulgence) is, that our traders cannot enter into successful competition with the British traders without it.

If the sales of whisky could be restricted to the vicinity of the British line, the mischief would be comparatively trivial, but if permitted *at all,* no limits can be set to it. A series of petty wars, and murders, and the introduction of every species of vice and debauchery by the traders, and their engagées, will be the consequences. It becomes also a fruitful source of complaint with those engaged in the same trade from the west.

The traders who obtain their goods from St. Louis, pass Ft. Snelling at the mouth of the river St. Peters, where in obedience to the orders I have received from the President, their boats are searched and no spirituous liquors are permitted to be taken further. The traders who are licensed for the Lakes, spread themselves over the whole country between Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi, their whisky attracts a large proportion of the Indians to their trading houses, and the western traders not only have to complain of the loss of custom but in many instances the Indians who have obtained their goods of them, are seduced by whisky to carry the produce of their winter hunt to others. This has long been one of the tricks of the trade; the traders who are not generally restrained by any moral rules after they pass the boundary, practice it without scruple whenever opportunities occur, and he who has the most whisky, generally carries off the furs. They are so far from being ashamed of the practice that it affords them subjects for conversation by their winter fires. I have myself frequently heard them boast of their exploits in that way. The neighbourhood of the trading houses where whisky is sold, presents a disgusting scene of drunkenness, debauchery, and misery, it is the fruitful source of all our difficulties, and of nearly all the murders committed in the Indian country. In my route from St. Peters to this place, I passed Prairie du Chiens, Green bay, and Mackinac; no language can describe the scenes of vice which there present themselves. Herds of Indians are drawn together by the fascinations of whisky, and they exhibit the most degraded picture of human nature I ever witnessed. I happened to be at this place in July when the Indians within the territory of the United States visited Malden. The presents they received there were infinitely greater in quantity, and superior in quality to those received of our agents. These were immediately brought to our shore, and exchanged for whisky. For the accommodation of my family I have taken a house about three miles from town, and in passing to and from it, I had daily opportunities of seeing the road literally strewed with the bodies of

men, women, and children, in the last stage of brutal intoxication. It is true there are laws in this territory to restrain the sale of whisky, but they are not regarded, too many are interested in what is here considered a profitable trade. I was informed by a person of veracity, that one man, (a Mr. Campo)[89] had purchased this season above three hundred blankets for whisky; they cost him on an average about seventy-five cents each. I passed this mans door daily, it was always surrounded by Indians, and many were passing in, and out, with kegs on their backs.

If the evil could be confined to the places I have mentioned, it would be of little importance, but the facilities afforded to traders on the upper lakes, by some of the Indian agents, are spreading it through all those extensive regions within the American boundaries.

Majr. Cutler[90] of the 2d. Inf^y., late Commanding Officer at the Sault St. Marie, informed me that the commanding officer of a guard at the outlet of Lake Superior counted eighty-six kegs of high wines, passing into the Lake the last season, by permission of the Indian agent. The present year there has been delivered to the Agent of the North American fur company at Mackinac, (by contract,) three thousand, three hundred gallons of whisky, and two thousand, five hundred of high wines. The practice of using high wines is a favorite one with the traders, as it saves transportation, and the quantity of liquor can be increased at pleasure.

I have been inadvertently led farther into this subject than I at first intended, but I will venture to add that an enquiry into the manner in which the Indian trade is conducted, and

---

[89] The Campeaus were a large Detroit family, of whom Joseph was at this period the most prominent member. Born in 1769, he was engaged in Indian trade, and at one time was the richest man in the settlement. He died in 1860.—Ed.

[90] For a brief sketch of the military career of Maj. Enos Cutler, who was later in command at Fort Winnebago, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 402.—Ed.

especially by the N American fur company is a matter of no small importance to the tranquillity of the borders.

My principal object in addressing you Sir at this time is to ask your instructions relative to inforcing the laws prohibiting the introduction of whisky into the Indian country. I do not know if the agents have any dispensing power, and I wish to be informed if their permissions either verbal, or written are to be respected.

Being at present on furlough, and ignorant of the station of my immediate commander, I have taken the liberty to depart from the usual etiquette of service, by addressing you personally. I shall leave here for St. Peters in a few days, and on my arrival there, hope to be honored with your commands With the highest respect I have the honour to be Sir your obt. servant

J. Snelling[91]
Col. 5th. U. S. Infy

Honble James Barbour Secretary of War.

[Source, same as preceding document.]

Superintendency, St. Louis, Octr. 19th, 1825.

Sir—I had the honor to receive, a letter from Col. McKenny of the 17th. September accompanied by a Copy of a letter from Col. Snelling of the 23d. Augt. addressed to you on the Subject of the late admissions of ardent spirits into the Chippeway Country, by the sanction of the Indian Agents on the Lakes, and the degraded scenes of vice, which have presented themselves at Prairie du Chien, Green bay, Mackinac etc. By Col.

[91] Col. Josiah Snelling was of Massachusetts origin and entered the army in 1808. During the War of 1812–15 he was brevetted for distinguished service at Brownstown, and in 1819 appointed colonel of the 5th Infantry. In 1823 Snelling was sent to command at the fort near Minnesota River, which took its name from him. In the summer of 1825 he was on furlough at Detroit. For the journey hither and returning see personal narrative in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vi, pp. 102–111. He died at Washington, Aug 20, 1828.—Ed.

McKenny's letter my strictest enquiry into the various branches of the subject, to which Col. Snellings letter relates, is required, and a report of the result of it to the department, particularly as it regards the Indian agents who are implicated in his letter.

I have no doubt of the facts, stated in Col. Snelling's letter and believe that the views he has taken on the subject of the introduction, of ardent spirits, among the Indians as stated in his letter is substantially correct.

I do not consider, either of the Indian Agents within this Superintendency implicated, and believe, that I can say with truth, no one of them has authorized or permitted any ardent spirits to pass into the Indian Country, when it was in their power to prevent it.

The boats of all traders that pass the two out posts of Ft. Atkinson[92] and Ft. Snelling, are diligently searched by the Military, and those that get into the Indian Country without passing those forts are closely watched by the Indian Agents, in whose limits they are permitted to trade.

But whilst, there can be no control, over the Citizens on the borders of the Settlements, within the State's and Territorial jurisdiction, it will be utterly impossible to restrain or control the Indians, residing nearest to those settlements, from the use of spirits.

They soon become acquainted, with the various little distilleries and Grocery establishments on the frontiers, and with money, furs, peltries etc. purchase the liquors and pack it off to their Camps and villages. It is an evil most sincerely felt, and the more to be dreaded, from the increase of the evil, and the difficulty of suppressing, or providing an adequate remedy for it. Several white persons are settled on public lands, between Ft. Armstrong and the line of settlements of Illinois, for the ex-

[92] Probably a slip of the pen for Fort Armstrong. Fort Atkinson in Wisconsin was not built until 1832, and that in Iowa until 1841.—Ed.

press purpose as it is believed of trading with the Indians. Permit me to observe, that in relation to the scenes of intoxication and vice at Prairie des Chiens, neither the Agent at that place, or the Officer in command, has the power to prevent the sale of spirits to the Indians; that being a Town and settlement without the Indian limits, over which the Government and Laws of Michigan Territory are extended, and where the Laws in relation to that subject are but little regarded by the civil authority at that place. All the Indian Agents within this Superintendency, have recev[d] pointed instructions, in relation to the introduction of Ardent Spirits among the Indians; Yet it may not be amiss to remind them of the necessity of exercising the utmost vigilance in detecting and prosecuting, such Traders and others, as may attempt a violation or evasion of the Laws; to that *end* I have addressed a Circular, to each of the Agents and Sub Agents. I have the honor to be Sir With sentiments of highest respect Yr. Obt. Servt.

WM. CLARK.

Honb. James Barbour Secy War

1825: FOX RIVER TRADE

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 19B45. Translated from the French.]

CACALIN, October 29, 1825.

DEAR SIR—I profit by the opportunity of Col. Snelling as being I believe a very sure one to Reply to your last and at the same time to give you some Information on several Matters.

1st. I should tell you that I received from our man Gagné 7½ Cords of Wood no more no less, and as he is engaged to Mr. Whitney to make the Voyage to the prairie du Chien I managed though with difficulty to Retake a third of his wages, that is so much secured from his Carcass. 2nd Having thought that we would be Short of Liquor this spring I have taken it on myself to buy 8 Casks & 2 guns [sic] of the house on the same footing

as that we have already had. I will send you some, at the same time I warn you that the agent appears to be very strict at present on the subject of People who Run to the Lodges in the interior with Goods, therefore you better take care that your Men may not be surprised in any such doings.

It appears by several Letters of Mr. McK. Dousman that he has written to Mr. Law that he Blames us much for not having Employed Franc Roy. I do not know what his idea can be if he thinks that he is the only one who Can make Returns. For my part I believe that Mr. Dousman Knows his own Business very well, and likewise that we know ours.

On the matter of opposition traders, Beside the one at the Butte against Robert, you will have an Other either at the Mecanne or the Lake du Boeuf—the wife of Peter Powelle with 2 or 3 pieces of Cloth Very well assorted too. I believe that if you find Some Good Savages (which is very rare) you will do well to give one a Commission to oppose that Invoice. That is my opinion. I do not wish to Dictate Orders to you, you are on the Spot and should know better than I how to proceed.

You say that you Left a piece and a Half of Cotton print to replace that lacking on the invoice. Fily after having carefully Examined, found that it was a mistake on his part for there was 1½ Verge instead of one and a Half pieces. According to your Recommendation I will pay all possible attention to your home, you may be assured of that.

I began to Debit our Cask of little Rats, and I have used 3 Blankets of 3 points, 3 Verges of Cloth, 6 verges of cotton, and a White Iron Kettle all English Merchandise. As for the rest I hope to dispose of them the same way. Finally I believe I have forgotten nothing except to wish you Good health and all possible Prosperity. Believe me with Consideration Sir Your Obedient Servant and friend

Aug^{t}. Grignon

Old Mr. fily sends to you his Compliments as well as to Mr. Jaques.

Jaques Porlier Esqr. Portage du Wuisconsing Favor of Col Snellings.

1825: THE AFFAIR OF 1817.

[MS. in Pension Building, Washington. Pressmark: Indian Office Miscellaneous Files, 1824–26.]

An application having been made to me on the part of Col. Talbot Chambers for a statement of the facts which came within my knowledge relative to the transaction out of which originated the suit of John Jacob Astor and others against Talbot Chambers, W. Morgan and W. S. Blair, I think that the following is the substance of the testimony delivered by me as witness in that cause[93]. In the fall of 1817, Mr. Russel Farnham the agent of the plaintiff arrived at Prarie du Chien with two boats laden with Indian goods the property of the pltffs. I was at that time stationed at Prarie du Chien as an Indian agent. On the arrival of Farnham he reported himself to Col. Chambers as commanding officer and produced a paper purporting to be a license to trade with the Indians signed by a Mr. Putoff styling himself an Indian agent. This paper Col. Chambers shewed for my inspection and desired my opinion of its validity. Upon an examination of it, and looking at the law of the U. S. upon the subject of Indian trade I conceived that Mr. Putoff was not authorised to grant such a license, and that Col. C. was bound to prevent Mr. Farnham from trading with the Indians, and made known my sentiments on that head to Col. Chambers. It is proper to state that Farnham was accompanied by a man named St. John or La Perch who had taken an active part with the English during their attack on Prarie Du Chien and who had from his cruelties become extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants of that place. Finding Farnham in such company and without proper authority Col. Chambers directed him to repair to St. Louis and report himself to the commanding officer of the department and also to report himself at the different posts on the way, taking Farnham's parole of honor that he would comply with these orders and on no account attempt trade with the Indians. Col. Chambers sent a letter by

[93] For documents on this affair see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 477–483; also *ante*, pp. 23, 24.—Ed.

Farnham to Willoughby Morgan commanding at Fort Armstrong, instructing him if Farnham attempted to trade with the Indians to seize him, the boats, and crews and send them to St. Louis. On reaching Fort Armstrong Farnham declared his intention (his pledge to the contrary notwithstanding), to carry on intercourse with the Indians. This coming to the knowledge of Morgan he took Farnham and the property in his care together with the crews of the boats into custody and sent them to St. Louis accompanied by a guard of soldiers under the command of W. S. Blair. I would beg leave to add that I am firmly persuaded that Col. Chambers in doing what he did, was actuated only by a sense of duty, and a conviction that he was acting in conformity to Law. At the period of which I have spoken such precaution was called for, more than at present, the excitement and hostility produced among the Indians by the recent war had not subsided and great mischief might have been produced to our citizens by permitting designing foreigners to intrigue with them. Under such circumstances I feel satisfied that no officer in the place filled by Col. Chambers could have acted with more moderation and integrity.

BENJN. O'FALLON
U. S. Agt. Ind. Aff.

ST. LOUIS November 10th. 1825.

1825: FOND DU LAC POST

[MS. in Wisconsin Historical Library. Pressmark: Wisconsin MSS., 19B19. Translated from the French.]

FOND DU LAC RIVER 5 NOV. 1825

SIR—I profit by the opportunity that presents itself to wish you Good day. At the same time to Inform you of the Situation where I am now, there is nothing to complain of as far as the life goes, for on the Contrary we live in abundance Up to the present.

I will tell you that I have not done any thing of the value of a denier in peltry, and all done as expressly [ordered]. My Creditor Metchquinoitte is crippled and there is no appearance of his being Cured for it is now two months since the disease took him in the feet and medicines have no effect.

I am about sending Pataille to the Detour, it is not without trouble or that it costs less, I do for the best whatever happens. I am with consideration Sir Your very obedient Servant

AMABLE GRIGNON

I am about to relate to you the fetes that took place here, first they had my house Burned after having seized it, consulting together they came to warn me that if I dared to ill treat them because of the house, that they would expel us from their country but because of friendship for us without committing any pillage or murder; and that if I should even try to Resist, that they would Bind us and send us peaceably to the Bay with my Merchandise. However, that is no matter, I am better Built than last year. Assure Mr. Jaque as well as his lady of my best respects Your very Obedient Servant

AMABLE GRIGNON

Jaque Porlier Esq. Portage du Ouisconsin.

1825: TYPICAL INVOICES

[Source, same as preceding document, but 7A83-85. Translated from the French.][94]

1825	*Invoice of Wisconsing*	Dr.		Cr.
Sept	Amount of the invoice	1253 81	Merchandise according to	
10	Indian Credits	647 59	the inventory deducting 6	
	1½ per cent for expenses	9 71	per cent	302 20
	Equipment of 3 men	30 15	by the Portage invoice	4 43
	" of Charles &		41 lvs. of tallow 16⅔	4 83
	" " fnçois	14 68	36 lvs. of feathers 20	7.20
	" " Chapu	5 84	Peltries	2028 88
	furnished by Portage		furnished to the Portage	7 20
	invoice	7 37	deficit	124 31
1826	drinks for the Indians do Indians at la Bay	6 00		
	expense of taking out			
	and bringing back	33 74		
	Wages to be paid			
	Chapu	147 25		
	Chls. Grignon	71 57		
	fr. Choret	51 03		
	Alex Roy	76 87		
	Jos. Lemieux	43 41		
	J bte Emery	80 03		
		2479 05		

Endorsed: Loss $124.31 cts.

	Invoice of the Cakalin	Dr.		Cr.
	Merchandise according		Merchandise taken back a-	
	to invoice amounting		mounting to	317 49
	to	992 33	by the invoice of La Butte	168 20
	by Mr. Lawe	219 93	of the Portage	83 33
	Summer peltries	105 02	of the fond du lac	57 47
	Credits " "	30 00	Account of A. Grignon	29 87
	6 badly-dressed skins		Paid to Jourdin	17 50
	sent to the Portage	4 50	199 lvs. of sugar	8 31
			5 prs. leggings	2 50
			3 prs. shoes	1 50
			½ a doe skin	75
			money	120 12½
			Peltries	402 00
			deficit	142 74
		1351 78		1351 78

Endorsed: Deficit $142.74

[94] This document is given as a specimen of the credits granted to the Indians and the proportion thereof repaid. It is found in the entry

1825 *Invoice of the fond du lac*	Dr.		Cr.	
Merchandise furnished	872	53	Amount of Merchandise brought back	194 95
by the Cakalin invoice	72	53	72 lvs. of feathers 20	14 40
10 Gls of Whiskey invoice of la butte	7	36	2 Capots	1 00
Addition to the Credit of Charodchon	14	88	4 badly-dressed skins	3 00
Wages paid to Bernard	75	20	30 lvs of tallow 16⅔	5 00
Pre Grignon Junior	26	0	10 lvs. of wax 20	2 00
Cakalin portage	2	50	185 lvs of meat 8	14 80
deduction of 6 per cent made on merchandise of 194.95	11	70	Peltries	1405 91
addition made in order to equalize the merchandise		92	money	75
	1068	59		
Profit	573	22		
	1641	81		1641 81

Equipment of B. Grignon omitted 5.84 cts — Profit $573.22 — 5.84

Endorsed: Balance 567.38

1825–26: SPECIMEN CREDITS

[Source, same as preceding document, but Fur Trade Credit Book, pp. 1-4][94]

	Dr.	Cr.
1825 Chawawnissé	$69 00	$15 00
Chakanaga	64 00	22 00
Pekamin (son of tabac noir)	28 00	18 75
Shouny ny son of Grand Sable	6 00	
Shawannon son of la vieule chate	39 00	27 00
Pim man nan	2 50	
Nan bishé one son of Opanago P.	103 00	
La Framboise the half breed	75 00	30 00
The son of the Courtoreille (fond du Lac) W.	28 00	12 00
Letourneau brother of Espagnole W.	38 00	6 00
The Grandson of biencoup wayawiné	19 00	10 00
Pam mi co nan an brother-in-law of opanago P.	19 00	10 00

---

book of one of the outposts of the Green Bay Company. Apparently the initials "P," "S," and "W" indicate Potawatomie, Sauteur (Chippewa), and Winnebago respectively; doubtless those not thus designated were Menominee.—Ed.

	The Son of Pienault		6 00	4 00
	Ka ho ko grandson of Le Vieux		17 00	3 00
	Le Gros u hard, (Ketchimong)		7 00	2 00
	Le Pique Bois d' hiver		7 00	2 00
	Le tems Claire (Mishaquoite) P.		11 00	8 50
	Kywewesinse P.		14 50	
	La Motier du Jour		34 00	8 00
	Le Signe (Wabisinini)		59 00	29 75
	Mitigomin (Le Glant)		2 00	
	The son of La Tortu (torongeo)		28 00	12 00
	Owanpago (La tete de Biche) W.		19 00	13 00
	Makataioquètonse		16 00	3 50
			711 00	235 75
1826	Au nan guain		14 50	6 00
	Matchiga le Grand		10 50	3 50
	hish quoi ki gigue	P.	35 00	12 00
	His Younger son	P.	25 00	
	His Mother	P.	2 50	
	Tau te ken le Gausiér	P.	14 00	2 50
	Kitchinakawe (le Grd Sable)		3 50	
	Nigan na couâme		20 00	5 00
	Taka na châs		1 50	
	Kitchikoky		5 50	
	La couleuvre		5 50	
	Le ne coupe les 4 Jambes	W.	1 00	
	Son-in-law of choscomine	W.	20	
	Son-in-law of Grand Ecrivin (Chipannago)		5 75	
	le deau de la Jambe noir (onaquésepka)	W.	1 00	
	Weherasaga (the Brother-in-law of Lousignan)	W.	6 90	
	Washiga of the Fond du Lac	W	2 30	
	Chicannaga of the village of Calumet		15 50	7 25
	La Jotte hoshkènan nanhotame		1 00	
	Maccatais Pininse		4 00	
	Le Raisin brother of Blondo		2 50	
	Tchika makichine		50	
	Onanguissais		2 00	
	Chipanago le Gd Ecrivin		6 50	
	His son Minnouche		94	
	Le courtoreille (Ha ghâ)	W.	11 50	
	Chawanny kigique	S.	13 75	
	Le Mangeure de Folle	S.	8 25	
	Wawhe nankaye		4 25	
	La Loutre du Lac Chawannon	S.	7 50	
	Letourneaux Tokanny	W.	5 50	
	Chawannon of the Same Lake	S.	2 50	
	The Son of Commogeo the Eldest		3 75	
	Le Brave Auskache [Oshkosh]		1 00	

La Framboise		15 25	
La pluie and his son (Kèmòone)		7 00	
The Son of auguimanquikito		75	
Chaiby net son of Charlo		2 50	
Neman Tshi (le Gaucher)		13 25	
Kekwatache son of La borgniéce		5 25	
Pewettinete or (La pluie)		40 00	
Pipikwewe sainse		48 00	
Kashkakey Stepson of Menbaso		11 00	
His Stepfather Menbaso		5 25	
Woi che one son of we ne sate		3 25	
Oky tak (of the Lac chawanon)		9 25	
La Dans le ne coupé (we pit)		3 75	
Pecamin son of tabac noir		20 75	
Ky whée son of la petite telle		6 50	
La tete Blanche		4 25	
Chacannaga les yeux Gris		8 00	
Amable son of La petite telle		6 00	
Hakiwensy Le Vieux	P.	1 00	
Kekwabache le Sauteux	S.	17 50	
Wey Bit (La Dans)		15 00	
O Opechaie		57 00	31 40
		1296 40	303 40

A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1803-04

By Michel Curot[1]

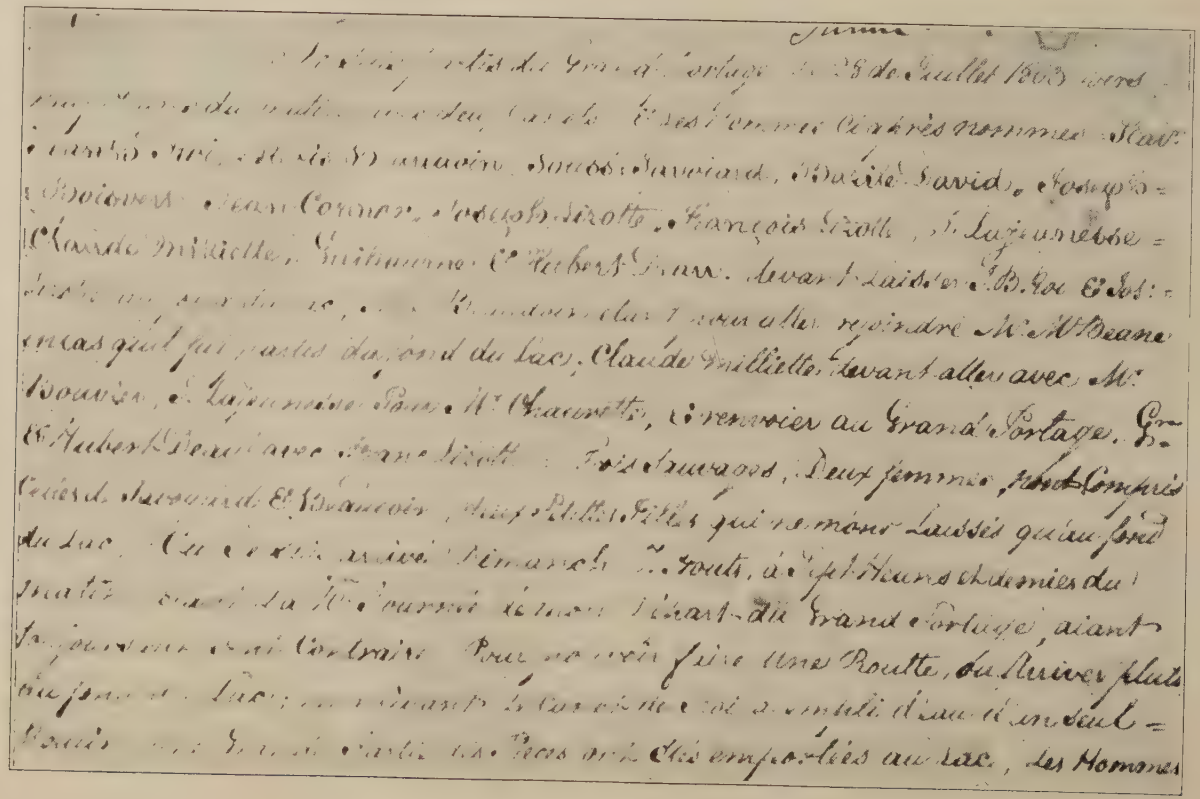
Journal Folle Avoine, River Jaune[2] For 1803, & 1804.

I left the Grand portage[3] the 28 of July, towards nine o'clock in the morning with two canoes and the following men Jean B[t] Roi, Alexis Beaudoin, Touss[t] Savoiard, Bazile David,

[1] Among the Masson papers in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, we find the following journal of a fur-trader's life and adventures in northwest Wisconsin during the winter of 1803–04. It has not previously been published.

[2] The term Folle Avoine (wild rice) was especially applied to the St. Croix region, where the Indians were frequently known as "Wild Rice Makers"—*Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 335. This branch of the Chippewa was frequently spoken of as the "Folle Avoine Sauteurs," in contradistinction to the Folle Avoine or Menominee tribesmen. Schoolcraft calls all the interior of northern Wisconsin, from Lac du Flambeau west, "the Folle Avoine country"—see H. R. Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative* (Phila., 1855), p. 576. The region of the upper St. Croix and its tributaries was the Folle Avoine country *par excellence*. Yellow (Jaune) River is a tributary of the St. Croix, in the present Burnett County, Wis. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 171, 172, says that the villages on Rice Lake and Yellow River were founded on land won from the Sioux in the early part of the 18th century.—Ed.

[3] For a sketch of this place see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 169, note 31. It is to be noted that Curot, in the employment of the X Y Company (*Ibid*, note 30), started from Grand Portage; while Malhiot (whose journal is printed in *Ibid*, pp. 163–233), who was in the service of the North West Company, begins his narrative at Kaministiqua, or Fort William.—Ed.



Part of a page of Curot's Journal

Joseph Boisvert, Jean Connor, Joseph Lizotte, François Lizotte, J. Lajeunesse, Claude Milliette, Guillaume and Hubert Deau[4] (J. B. Roi and Jos. Lizotte were to be left at the fond du Lac;

been published, although L. R. Masson makes mention thereof in a note in his *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1889), ii, p. 114. The manuscript was photographed for these *Collections* from the original and that photograph has been Englished by us. Of the writer little more is known than is revealed by the document itself. Curot was in the employ of the X Y Company, and this was his first winter in Wisconsin. He was partly educated and wrote a good legible hand and used comparatively correct French. By his own account he was hardly competent for the command of a post, especially under the conditions of rivalry prevailing in 1803–04; and upon the amalgamation of the rival concerns in 1804, his services were probably dispensed with. A family of this name (spelled Cureau) lived at Montreal in the 18th century, and one Amable Curot was trading in Wisconsin between 1778 and 1787. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 9; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xi, p. 559. In all probability Michel was this trader's son, and was himself employed by the X Y Company as a clerk. Possibly it was an emergency that caused him to be placed in charge of the Yellow River post.—Ed.

[4] The following is known of these *voyageurs:*

Roy was employed in 1818 by the American Fur Company in the department of Fond du Lac, Lake Superior, at a salary of $1200.

Alexis Beaudoin was in 1810–11 with Perrault on the north side of Lake Superior; in 1818 he was employed by the American Fur Company at Lac du Flambeau.

Savoyard rejoined the North West Company in 1804.

Bazile David did likewise, and in 1810–11 was with Alexander Henry Jr. on the upper Saskatchewan.

Boisvert was likewise in Henry's brigade, about the same year.

Jean (John) Connor probably belonged to the Connor family of Mount Clemens, Mich., whose father was an Indian captive; the family had lived among the Chippewa, which would make Connor a good interpreter. His daughter was living on the St. Croix in 1837. See Edward D. Neill, "St. Croix Valley," in *Macalester College Contributions*, iii, p. 56.

The Lizotte brothers were at Lake Winnipeg in 1804, and in 1818 were employed by the American Fur Company in the Fond du Lac (Lake Superior) district.

For La Jeunesse, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 306, note 39.

Guillaume Deau was in 1817 a guide for the North West Company on Lake Huron.—Ed.

Alex. Beaudoin was to go and rejoin Mr. McBeane[5] in case he had left the fond du Lac; Claude Milliette was to go with Mr. Bouvier, J. Lajeunesse for Mr. Chaurette,[6] and return to the Grand Portage; G^m and Hubert Deau with François Lizotte), Three Savages, Two women, not including those of Savoyard and Beaudoin, two little Girls who were however Left at fond du Lac,[7] where I arrived Sunday the 7th of August at half past seven in the morning, it being the 10th Day after my Departure from the Grand Portage, there having been all the time contrary winds, to hinder our route and keep us from sooner Arriving at the fond du Lac. On landing Roi's canoe filled with water from a great rolling wave, a great Part of the Luggage was swept out into the Lake, the Men had Great Difficulty and trouble to secure It again, the Wind and Waves increased Greatly. Finally, however, every thing was saved except two Bags of Corn, which could not be got; They hunted for them again the next morning the 8th, when I was encamped with Mr. McBeane who was waiting for provisions from the Grand Portage on the return of Mr. Nelson,[8] whom I had met the Second of the present month at a Place near The two Islands. He had there asked for Lajeunesse. The young Man for a long time refused to embark in his canoe; finally, however, he did so, and Mr. Nelson having a Good wind in the Rear, continued his route, while I was obliged to Camp. At The requisition of Mr. McBean I Borrowed from

---

[5] John McBean had for some years been in the fur-trade. Acting at this time for the X Y Company, upon the union in 1804 he was rated as clerk and interpreter for the North West Company. In 1811–12 he was active in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pic department—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, pp. 592, 598. By 1816 he had become a partner in the company.—Ed.

[6] At this time Chorette was the X Y trader at Lac du Flambeau. See Malhiot's Journal in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, *passim.*—Ed.

[7] For this locality see *Ibid*, p. 173, note 40.—Ed.

[8] George Nelson was a clerk in the X Y Company and after the coalition was employed in that capacity at Lake Winnipeg—see Masson, *Bourgeois*, i, p. 405. In 1804–05 he was with Alexander Henry in the Red River department.—Ed.

roi a sack of Corn, he promising to write to Sir Mackenzie[9] to send him another By The canoe that was to come to the fond du Lac. He did not know what Time it Would arive, but the canoe having come, I returned it to him, Mr. McBean having given me one before Setting off For his Wintering Place.

Tuesday 9th. Not finding canoes made For Me, I had The Men go off as follows. Gardant Smith[10] to mend his own canoe; to T. Savoiard, J. B. Roi, Baz. David, J. Boisvert, and J. Connor I gave a Keg of H. W.[11] and some Cloth to go and buy some canoes or have Two made. I gave to the Men in Parting a Bottle of Rum and I made them dry The Bales that were wet. Laprairie[12] passed this morning with two canoes, and Mr. McBean was also In The portage.

Wednesday the 10th. Smith worked all Day mending his canoe. Mr. McBean arrived this evening at eight oClock.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, 11, 12, and 13. Much wind from the north; visited the nets, took 5 fish.

Sunday 14. The men visited the nets, and brought 4 fish. Smith refused today his ration having Demanded that of his wife who is absent, so I refused to give it. He said that he had the Right to receive two Pints of Corn Per Day, that he was determined to have all or nothing. I told him that if he had his wife with Him, that I would not refuse Him, but since she was

---

[9] Sir Alexander Mackenzie, head of the X Y Company, for a sketch of whose career see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 290, note 16.—Ed.

[10] Nothing more is known of this trader than is related in this journal. It is evident that he had been the X Y Company's clerk in charge of the Yellow River post for 1802–03; that his returns proving unsatisfactory, Curot was despatched to supersede him, and Smith was thereby reduced to a secondary position, which he accepted with bad grace.—Ed.

[11] An abbreviation for high wines—a kind of liquor much used in Indian trade. According to Elliott Coues, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (N. Y., 1897), p. 3, high wine was nearly pure alcohol, which when sold to the tribesmen was much diluted with water.—Ed.

[12] La Prairie was clerk for the North West Company, in opposition (as appears later) to Curot's outfit. Nothing is known of this clerk save what is related herein.—Ed.

absent I could give him only his share. He turned his Back, Saying that he would get it elsewhere. I offered him a Chopine[13] a Day For his children, which he likewise refused. At noon Messrs. Grignon[14], Nelson, and La marche[15] arrived. Having received a Letter from Sir Mackenzie, dated the 5th of the month, that told me to Fix it up with Smith, I had him come to my tent, where I told him that I would give him the two Rations, Since he demanded Them, that I was Informed that he designed to Leave The Society's Service to go to Mr. Réaume,[16] and that he tried to pick a Quarrel with me, because he was Jealous of one of the Men, who was going into the Interior with Him. He had nothing to reply.

Monday 15. Smith came this morning to get his rations, which I gave him. I fear that he will yet Leave me before we go, because Last evening he was at Mr. Reaume's camp, who was below on The other side. I believe he is Jealous Of David.

Tuesday 16. Nelson and Lamarche left this morning at 5 o Clock for Lapointe. Mr. Réaume passed with two canoes, having Left Babeux behind to make some Gum and go and rejoin

[13] For this term see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 216, note 14.—Ed.

[14] This was Charles Grignon, of Green Bay, concerning whom see *ante*, pp. 148, 312. He was at this time clerk for the X Y Company at Fond du Lac post; later he entered the North West Company, returning home after the War of 1812–15.—Ed.

[15] A *voyageur* named Charles La Marche was in 1804 in the Lake Winnipeg district; and in 1810 one of the same name was with Henry on the Saskatchewan; but see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 190, for an X Y trader of this name.—Ed.

[16] Joseph Reaume was an experienced trader among the Chippewa, having wintered on Red Lake as early as 1785—see *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, *passim*; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xii, p. 81. He accompanied Jean Baptiste Cadotte on the first expedition (1792) to the sources of the Mississippi via Fond du Lac of Lake Superior; and was in the department of Fond du Lac for the North West Company from 1799–1804. After the coalition of the companies, Reaume appears to have retired, although a person of that name is listed in the Athabasca district as *voyageur*. Joseph was a cousin of Alexis, mentioned in *Id*, xix, p. 345; and may have been the one whose baptism is recorded in *Ibid*, p. 48.—Ed.

him at The entrance of the river Brulé. Messrs. Grignon and McBean crossed from the other Side this morning To choose a place to Build Mr. Grignon's house.[17] Mr. McBean left for his Wintering[18] at Nine o Clock. This evening my Men arrived from Lapointe with two canoes, that cost Two Kegs of mixed Rum one two and ½ Point blanket, and one Brasse[19] of Cloth.

Wednesday, Thursday 17th, 18th. After Gumming the canoes yesterday, I left today. I was obliged to buy another Little canoe of a woman, whom I have begged Mr. Grignon to pay for it Two little capots and one 2½ pt. blanket. I gave her Two Pots[20] of Mixed rum. Smith's canoe was no good, Taking in Much water. I went to The entrance of The river, where I was detained By the wind Until

Sunday 21st, when I departed and camped 3½ Leagues from Brulée river, being obliged to use too much Force on account of the wind in the Open lake which came up all at once and lasted Until the Next day morning. When it lessened I set out and arrived towards eleven O clock [at the mouth of Brulé River] and there found Mr. Réaume. The Men had Cooked Their Corn. I camped a little Higher up the River Until Tuesday the 23 when I set out. Smith & David went in The little canoe with the following luggage: 7 kegs of H. W., 1 Roll of tobacco, I told Smith to cache 5 kegs and to make Haste. I left this Camp 5 Hours afterwards. Savoiard and I in the Biggest canoe, Boisvert and Connor In The other and slept at the farther

---

[17] For the site of the North West Company's post at Superior, see *Ibid*, p. 173, note 40. See a description of the building of this post in 1793 in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, p. 569. Since headquarters were needed for the X Y Company, it was necessary for Charles Grignon to build a new wintering house, whose exact site is not now known.—Ed.

[18] McBean probably entered the Mississippi region by the St. Louis River and its portage connections.—Ed.

[19] For an explanation of this measure see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 216, note 15.—Ed.

[20] This measure is explained *Ibid*, note 13.—Ed.

End of the first Decharge.[21] The portage Must be about two arpents. A little rain fell during The night.

Wednesday 24th. I left this place at midday and kept on Until 4 o'clock when we camped. Thursday 25 at eight o'Clock we embarked and camped at 4 o'Clock.

Friday 26, We had a little rain this morning. The Weather having cleared, we proceeded and passed the night at The first of the Three Décharges, having broken my canoe twice.

Saturday 27. Late this morning we passed The packages across the portage of that Décharge, and then that of The second camping at the foot of The third which we have to surmount Tomorrow.

Sunday 28. Had savoyard and Boisvert take up The canoes and Connor the loading; This portage is Much Longer and harder than The other two.[22] Connor was ill, and could not keep on carrying. I had him take a little sugar and water,

---

[21] A *décharge* indicates a place where it is necessary to unload the canoes, either partially or entirely, and carry the goods by land, while the craft can be passed up the stream empty. It thus differs from a portage, which requires the carrying of both goods and canoe around the obstruction. The first *décharge* was at a point somewhat over three miles above the Brulé's mouth, at a place now known as Gregory Falls. The bed of the river is here solid brown sandstone, and at the foot of the falls on the west bank a rocky ledge overhangs the stream—the only place of this nature on the entire river. For aid in identifying the sites on the Brulé we are indebted to the kindly offices of C. D. O'Brien of St. Paul, who has a summer camp on the stream; Joseph Lucius of the State forestry service; and John La Rock of Brulé.—Ed.

[22] From information obtained from the gentlemen mentioned in the previous note, it would appear that these three *décharges* were at the rapids below the bridge that now crosses the stream where the old trail to La Pointe passed. The rapids are here connected and practically continuous—the upper being a straight fall of some four or five feet, making a *décharge* "harder and longer than the other two," with a mile-and-a-half of bad, quick water. The falls are called either Sandstone or McCaskill—the latter for a summer cottager just below the falls. See also Fredrik T. Thwaites, *Sandstones of the Wisconsin Coast of Lake Superior* (Wis. Geol. and Nat. Hist. Survey, Bulletin No. 25, 1912), map in pocket.—Ed.

which somewhat revived him. I camped at The other End of the portage, as The rain began to Fall and lasted Until the Next day.

Monday 29th. The rain continued all the morning. Towards Four o Clock in the afternoon Three savages arrived at this encampment, namely Le Grand Razeur, The son of le Mâle, and Le petit Mâle.[23] Le Grand Razeur gave me 20 deer skins in the Red, I gave him some Rum, and he and the other two Drank all night. I gave them a Credit, they promising me to go immediately into The Interior to make The Plus, and that I should see them in the course of the next Winter. I was a Long time making up my mind, telling them that Last year they had not paid Smith, and that I Feared they would do the same this year. Le Grand Razeur said that it was Smith's fault that they had not paid him last year, that he went out too soon, that he himself had the means to pay, but that not having found Smith he had traded his plus partly with La Prairie, and had brought The rest to Mr. Cadotte.[24] The son of le mâle showed me a Letter, Signed by Lacroix For La prarie,[25] dated the 20 of this month, addressed to Mr. Réaume. That letter, having an open seal, I read there is no wild rice this year,[26] he was obliged to go to

---

[23] These appear to have belonged to the Snake River band of Chippewa —see Perrault's "Narrative" in *Mich Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, pp. 558, 576. They probably met Curot near the crossing of the old La Pointe trail, noted above.—Ed.

[24] Probably Jean Baptiste Cadotte II, who opened the Fond du Lac district for the North West Company; see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 279 -297. It may, however, be Michel Cadotte of La Pointe, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 69, note 98.—Ed.

[25] The meaning is, that La Croix wrote the letter in the name of La Prairie. There was a large family of La Croix, who were early Mackinac residents; see *Ibid., passim.* One Louis La Croix was in 1819 an employee of the American Fur Company.—Ed.

[26] On the importance of wild rice as an article of food for both fur-traders and Indians, see *Ibid*, p. 189, note 65. The district to which Curot was assigned was not only known to the company as the "Wild Rice Department," but the traders were expected to purchase with their goods considerable quantities of this edible to be used at other posts. It was, therefore, something like a calamity when the wild-rice harvest

The river au Serpent to trade.[27] The Savages said The same thing, and that they had met Smith, to whom they had told The same.

Tuesday 30. I slept this day at la petitte Prairie,[28] having Left The Savages at the Encampment before going to find Mr. Réaume who had slept at The other End of the Portage; Le petit mâle came one Hour after us and Camped. In the night his dogs, and perhaps that of Boisvert, and Those of Savoyard ate two Deer Skins, although the Baggage Had Been Well Covered, and the skins were in the middle. The pieces that were left were no Bigger than the Palm of The hand.

Wednesday 31st. I slept a little Higher up than The Encampment Of La Grande Prairie,[29] having Camped Early.

September 1st Thursday. Le Grand Razeur came to camp

---

failed. One cause of crop failure was a season too wet for the ripening of the grain; if the water in which the stalks grew was much over a foot in depth, the rice was apt to be of poor quality. See description of a harvest in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, p. 178; also the cause of failure of the harvest, *Ibid*, p. 520.—Ed.

[27] This is the present Snake River of Minnesota, rising in Aitkin County, flowing south and east into the St. Croix, through Kanabec and Pine counties. Pine City on the Northern Pacific Railroad is situated on Snake River. On this stream was an important fur-trade post; and during the wars between the Sioux and Chippewa, the Snake was a contested boundary—see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, pp. 243, 246. In 1832 the Indian population along its border was over 300.—Ed.

[28] The site of Little Prairie is not positively known. Properly speaking there are no prairies on the Brulé, but above the Bayfield bridge before one comes to the present railway station of Brulé, the banks are somewhat flat. Mr. Lucius says that considering the distances and conformation of the shore line, he would suppose this camping place to have been on the east side, in sections 26 and 35 of township 48, range 10 W.—Ed.

[29] Mr. O'Brien writes: "A little above the town of Brulé is what is designated as the First Rapid. Then, with quick water but no rapid, the traveller would come to what is known as Little Joe Rapid, very bad; but I doubt whether it was so bad in older times, and probably no *décharge* was made there. Above this is dead water, where probably La Grande Prairie lay." Mr. Lucius supposes this to have been on the east bank, above the mouth of Little Brulé River.—Ed.

OJIBWA INDIAN WOMEN GATHERING WILD RICE
From oil painting by Seth Eastman, in room of House Committee on Military Affairs, Washington, D. C.

with us yesterday evening. I gave him some Rum for the 20 deer skins. I was obliged to give to him as well as to le petit male a little keg of mixed [Rum]. The savages have set Their traps for beaver but taken nothing. I passed the night

Friday 2nd at a Place a half mile Above the rapids of l'eau qui Dort.[30] We mounted all the rapids yesterday.

Saturday 3d. The last [rapid] which is The shortest but The strongest of the River Brulée they call the rapide à Vassal, so named Because That Gentleman when he entered this country could not mount it without making The Portage, which is very short. I slept this day at le Petit Pakouijawin, having encamped early.[31]

Sunday 4th. I had savoyard and Boisvert make up each a bed with a piece of Cloth for each and Blankets and I Encamped at a League and a Half this side of the St. Croix Portage, where I arrived not without difficulty in passing The canoes along the little channel that leads to the Portage.[32]

---

[30] The expression as here written means "sleeping water;" it may possibly have been *l'ours qui dort*, or Sleeping Bear Rapids. The identification is not certain—Mr. Lucius thinks that they may have been the rapids not far below Nebagamon Creek, called Joe Falls; Mr. O'Brien says that they probably were the present Nebagamon Rapids; John La Rock identifies them with the present Little Joe Rapids.—Ed.

[31] Above the Nebagamon Rapids the river expands into a series of lakes—Cochran's, Spring, Lucius, Big, and Sucker. Between Lucius and Big are the rapids now known as Wild Cat, possibly the Sleeping Bear Rapids of Curot. Falls Rapids, above Sucker Lake, while quite short are really the hardest on the upper river, and both of our informants identify these as that called by Curot "Rapide à Vassal."

Mr. Lucius says that twenty-five years ago he traversed the Brulé with Capt. Alex. McDougall, of Duluth, who pointed out to him the places called the two Pakouijawins. They are two bayous or lakes just above the last quick water in section 21 of township 46, range 10 W. From the head of these an old trail led to Superior.—Ed.

[32] Over twenty years ago, the present Editor ascended the Brulé and made the portage from its headwater over to Upper St. Croix Lake, virtually the source of St. Croix River. The upper part of the Brulé dwindles to a mere rivulet, thickly overarched with the bushes of the water birch. The land on both banks is boggy, and only with the utmost exertion did we push and squeeze through the cavernous pass-

Monday 5. About midday David came to meet us. Thinking he had returned from la folle avoine I Asked him how many fawn-skins [of rice][33] they had got. What was my surprise when he told me that had not been any Farther than the other end of the portage Where they had been waiting for me for 6 or 7 Days to get some Gum and provisions, that they had had to Fast, and could not procure any Gum To mend their Canoes which they had Broken. I gave him some Pork and flour, that he took to The other End of the Portage, to Smith. Savoiard and Boisvert were obliged to make two trips, after Unloading The Canoes in order to pass them along The channel without any damage, and Connor carried all The packages to the top of the Bluff.[34]

---

age, cutting boughs to allow the passage of our skiffs, and hewing our way through fallen logs, until we reached a small pool, scarcely a boat's-length in diameter. From this pool began the portage to the St. Croix.

Curot's camping ground of the 4th was probably on the west side of the stream in section 3, township 45, range 11 W. Mr. Lucius says: "I camped there first in the summer of 1887, and it had the appearance of an old camping ground."—Ed.

[33] In the original French Curot here uses the word "fan" a misspelling of the French word *faon*, a fawn. Jonathan Carver, *Travels* (London 1781), p. 525, says of the wild rice harvest, "when it is fit for use, they put it into the skins of fawns or young buffalos taken off nearly whole for this purpose and sewed into a kind of sack." These fawn-skin bags had an average capacity of about two bushels, and in 1820 such a skinful was worth two plus. See Albert E. Jenks, "Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes," in U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, *Report*, no. 19, p. 1072.—Ed.

[34] After leaving the upper pool of the Brulé, the present Editor and his fellow voyagers ascended for about fifty yards to a narrow plateau composed of a sand hill covered with recently burned timber, carpeted with blueberry and hazel bushes, from which rose a maze of slender blackened trunks. The portage path led southwestward through this forest for about two miles, in which there were two steep hills to be overcome by the burden bearers. Now and then the trail led through thick standing timber, the ground carpeted with pine needles; and occasionally over a little bench, on which were frequently seen the remains of an Indian camp. The landing at the St. Croix end of the portage was swampy.—Ed.

Tuesday 6. At eleven o'Clock this morning all the packages had been carried to The other end of the portage where The canoes did not arrive until evening.

Wednesday 7. Smith and Savoyard had mended and Gummed their Canoes. I Camped This Day On the island,[35] in order to set The nets, and wait for Mr. Réaume who had passed the night at the portage we had just crossed. There I stayed Until

Sunday 11, not getting any fish Smith told me that there was another Place at The entrance of The river au Bœuf,[36] where there would be perhaps a better chance. I did not have the nets set For scarcely had the men unloaded The Canoes when three savages put in an appearance, Ouaisza, Messeganne and The son of le Brochet. Ouaisza gave me a wild goose and some fish, asking me at the same time for credit; he said he had paid Smith Well, The last year, and that he would pay me Well. I gave him what he Needed, and the other two also, as Smith knew them to be Good hunters. They Asked some Rum of me, I gave them a pint which they Drank That night.

Monday 12, between eleven o'Clock and noon we Left The savages at the Encampment To go on to L'eau claire[37] where Smith had set our nets. Afterward having Raised them twice we took 32 fish. When we left the Encampment, Smith told me that one of the Savages threatened to Plunder us, that we ought to be on our guard in going down, for it might Easily happen that they would Waylay us at some Point. Indeed we had scarcely gone ½ a League when Ouêza rejoined us in a canoe with his wife, and said that if I did not give him some Rum

[35] Below the centre of Upper St. Croix Lake is a small island, much used as a camping place for early voyagers; also the site of an Indian village. See H. R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative of an Expedition*, etc. (New York, 1834), p. 139.—Ed.

[36] Ox Creek (River au Bœuf) enters the St. Croix from the east, shortly below the southern end of the lake.—Ed.

[37] The Eau Claire branch of the St. Croix is the outlet of a lake of the same name. It enters from the east, and the town of Gordon stands at the mouth, about seven miles down the St. Croix from the lake.—Ed.

something bad would happen to someone. Fearing that The Threat would be followed by the deed, I gave him some Rum, and he went off to find Messeganne who had threatened to Plunder. Right after dinner they came up and camped with us, and Drank The Rum I had given them. Mr. Réaume an instant later also arrived and Camped Near us. The savages Teased me a Great deal to let them have silver ware on Credit, especially Messeganne who insisted on seeing what was in The chest in my tent. I told him I had papers in it. No, Said he, I know Better. The Traders always put silver in such places, I wish to see If I am right and if you have not lied. I held out a Long time, and finally Gained my point and did not open it. Not succeeding in that Way, he Demanded of me some Rum To Carry away, Saying to me that he was going off, and that I should not see him until The Winter. Fearing that he still had some evil Design, I gave him a small Keg, and he went away content.

Tuesday 13. Late this morning we left to go and camp at La meckoiganne.[38] Rain began to Fall about Four o'clock, and continued all night and Until the next morning.

Wednesday 14. The rain having ceased, I went on to Pass the night at La Bataille.[39] Mr. Reaume camped with us. I departed the Next day

Thursday 15, having left Mr. Réaume at the Encampment waiting for Laprairie's Men, in order to get some Gum, I went

---

[38] This is probably the place known as the Sturgeon Dam or "Namai Kowagon" noted by Schoolcraft (*op cit.*, in note 35), p. 138. It was the site of a flourishing Indian village.—Ed.

[39] About fifteen miles below the mouth of the Eau Claire are the rapids now called Fish Dam. William Gordon, for whom the town of Gordon was named, informs us through C. W. Peaslee that there was in early days a battle at this place, and that it was by the Indians called Meros-e-wingin. The battle no doubt took place during the 18th century, when all this territory was disputed ground between the Sioux and Chippewa. See *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, *passim*.—Ed.

on and after descending all the rapids without accident passed the night at a Place in the neighborhood of le petit Gallet.[40]

Friday 16. Le Grand mâle, and Le petit Loup came to camp opposite us. I gave them Credit. I got from Le petit Loup two fawn-skins of wild rice and one avola[41] and a sack full of rice, for this I paid a small Calico shirt, and gave him a small keg of diluted Rum. From le Grand Mâle [I got] a Beaver for Eight Strings of Beads. The latter being a chief, he ought according to Smith's report to have a Coat. I had no rest until after I had promised to give him a Keg of Mixed Rum, which I did The Next morning. Le petit Loup went with Savoiard deer hunting but they killed nothing. I stayed at this Encampment Until

Monday 19, when I camped on an Island.[42] Four savages came to me again to ask credit. When I had given this I bought a fawn-skin of wild rice for three pints of mixed Rum. Hail fell today as large as a Bullet with very heavy Thunder and lightning. The Brother-in-Law of Smith came to camp at the End of the island, and Asked me to his lodge where I went with Smith. He Asked me for some ointment to put on his wound having been stabbed with a knife by Payédigigue, when he wished to avenge The death of his brother that had been slain three or Four Days ago By le Razeur's Band, Close to the camp of La prairie. He also Asked for a little Rum in order to go off to his father at The river au Serpent, to Weep for the son and brother. I gave him some Ointment and Rum, and he delivered to me a Brasse Of scarlet cloth, telling me not to be Uneasy with regard to the rest of his Credit, that the Blow that he had received was not mortal (it was a little below the Left shoulder)

---

[40] Gallet (Galet) means usually a flat-topped boulder or stone in a stream; also a shingly beach. The exact site on the St. Croix cannot now be determined.—Ed.

[41] Avola is probably one of the weasel family; the word is not known to be now in use.—Ed.

[42] There is in the St. Croix a large island comprising six or seven acres on the Wisconsin side just opposite and a little above the mouth of Yellow River.—Ed.

that he had had nothing from Mr. Réaume, and that as soon as he was better he would hunt in order to pay me. He had solemnly promised Smith to go to The river au serpent to get wild rice, saying that the savages there had Cached[43] a Great deal.

Tuesday 20. Mr. Reaume having passed this morning I left The island and went into Camp near the house Of *la prairie*.[44] I saw Le Grand Razeur, who gave me three fawn-skins of wild rice. I did all that I could to hinder Him from carrying off a Half-Keg of mixed Rum, that he took in spite of me, saying that it was none too much for three fawn-skins of rice. Savoyard had 4 chopines of Mixed Rum that he gave his mother-in-law. I traded for the Rum Four fawn-skins of wild rice. I bought 2 lynx and one deer skin For a little sugar and a few Beads. I traded for one Otter and a Large Beaver.

October 1st, Saturday. Savoyard and Connor arrived this

---

[43] "Cache" was a term much used in the fur-trade. It was derived from the French *cacher*, to hide, and was a process of concealing merchandise or furs in the ground, where if properly prepared the cache kept them safe and dry for years. The turf having been removed, a large hole was dug, enlarging as it went down, in the form of a kettle. The earth was carefully kept and all the surplus thrown into a neighboring stream to be washed away that it might not be seen. The cavity was then lined with small twigs and hides, the goods deposited, the turf replaced, and all traces of the deposit were obliterated. See description in Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition* (N. Y., 1904), ii, pp. 136, 137; also *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), vi, p. 272.—Ed.

[44] Although Curot does not say so directly, this was the terminus of the journey and not far from the North West Company's establishment under La Prairie's charge. The exact site of the posts on Yellow River in Curot's time cannot now be determined; but when the American pioneer settlers began to come into this region, some sixty years ago, there was a post on Yellow Lake nearly twenty miles up the river of that name. B. F. Peck of Spooner writes us that the post was located on Big Yellow Lake, about forty rods south of the thoroughfare between that and Little Yellow Lake in section 23 of township 40 north, 17 west. The location in Curot's time appears to have been somewhat farther from either of the lakes.—Ed.

morning without bringing any news of Smith and Boisvert.[45] The fear he had of the Sioux, and the firm belief that what he dreamed would occur made Savoyard put back, and had induced Connor to remount The rapids In the night, having been As far as The entrance of the river au serpent. There The Owl, bird of bad omen In this locality according to Their report, since The Sioux Imitate it The most frequently in their cries (if I may so express myself) had cried all Night above his head, and Connor Believed that he heard a whistle during The night first on one side and then on The other side of The river, so that they believed that the Sioux had killed Smith and Boisvert.[46]

Sunday, 2. Smith having appeared This morning on The other side of The river, the fear and apprehension of Savoyard all vanished. If he had stayed Until the Next morning at The entrance of The river au serpent, he would have seen Smith and I should not have been obliged to Throw away about three fawn-skins full of wild rice which was entirely Rotted. Smith had left Boisvert with his children at the Grande[47] river to get some Gum, or to send another canoe to the river Jaune, Tomorrow morning. He did this, and I received

Monday 3 in The afternoon 10 fawn-skins of rice, Two bear cub Skins, twelve deer skins, 1 Otter, 1 avola, and one lynx, Smith having cached ten other fawn-skins of rice being all he could Get with one Keg 9 Gns [gallons] H. W. According to

---

[45] Curot omits many details that are needful to understand his movements and those of his men. It is evident from this narration that he had sent Smith and Boisvert in advance to Snake River after provisions, and not having found them on his arrival at Yellow River had sent Savoyard and Connor to search for them.—Ed.

[46] Snake River was the frontier of Chippewa territory in the direction of the Sioux, and a region of much danger for the Chippewa and their traders. See *post*, in this journal.—Ed.

[47] Curot does not ordinarily speak of St. Croix River by name; he calls it Big River, in contrast with the Yellow, its affluent. Throughout this journal the term Grande River refers to the St. Croix. A trail ran directly from the post on Yellow River to the St. Croix, striking it in the northwest corner of section 10 of the township. This was known as the Soo portage.—Ed.

Smith's report, The savages of The river au serpent would have avenged The death of le Mâle's son last Spring, if he had not arranged the matter during The winter.[48] Lagarde left this morning in a Light Canoe To go and rejoin Mr. Réaume; he had not gone over half the rapids of the river when one of his Men and he could scarcely speak, so hoarse (?) they became. This is the report of David and Savoyard whom I had sent before Smith. I got from le petit mâle a deer.

Tuesday 4, Wednesday 5. Babeux left by canoe this morning with his wife For The fond du Lac, whence he is to Guide Mr. Sayer[49] As far as this place. I got two dressed deer Skins from the wife of le petit mâle. I gave her For them ½ Brasse of cloth, and a Knife with a Copper handle. Her husband and ouaiza left for a deer hunt. Le petit Mâle killed nothing; Ouaisza came with one Beaver and one otter, he gave the Beaver to La prarie and gave me The otter, wherewith I credited him. Ouaisza Asked me for a Man To go with him to find le Razeur's band and stay There Until The winter. I Asked David if he wished to go and he said Yes. Savoyard would have been glad to go There with his wife, if she had been here, he could not without Some one to dress skins; she has been with her mother Since the 24 of last Month. Since Smith was not here Savoyard did not wish to work at The house,[50] saying that he is going with

[48] The duty of the relatives of an Indian who was slain, was to avenge his death upon the slayer or the slayer's relatives. To avoid this, a trader or some disinterested person frequently arranged the matter, by the slayer paying what was sufficient to appease the wrath of the relatives of the deceased. This was termed "covering the dead;" that is his grave was, metaphorically, buried from sight by the robes, blankets, etc., given as blood money.—Ed.

[49] For this trader see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 173, 174, note 41. As partner of the North West Company he had at this time charge of the so-called Fond du Lac district.—Ed.

[50] It is evident from Curot's narrative that the X Y Company had no permanent post on Yellow River, and that he was compelled to build winter quarters for himself and men. In speaking of the opposition headquarters, he designates the North West Company's place "the fort" in contradistinction to his own, "the house."—Ed.

The savages in order To be sure of provision, that there is every probability that Those who stay with me will be obliged to Starve to the last extremity. He has often been at Laprairie's house. I do not know why, and it was only on the eve of Smith's arrival that I could Persuade Him to commence to work at The house.

Thursday 6, Friday 7. David left this morning with Ouaisza and Le petit mâle and his wife to go and Camp at The other End of Lake Jaune [Yellow Lake][51], where he could set traps for Beaver and Otter and also hunt deer.

Saturday, Sunday, and Monday 10. We have caught enough fish so that we do not need to use rice These three Days. La prairie arrived this morning with more fish and some dried meat. I don't know where he can have been for Smith tells me that all the savages have gone into the Interior, and that there are none on the Grand River.

Tuesday 11th. I Asked savoyard This morning to go after the ½ Cask of Rum that he had cached; He replied that since I know where it was as well as He, I could go myself. I punished him for his impertinence, which will be reported at the Grand portage. I then planned to let Smith go, who was ready. I stopped him an instant, on which Savoyard who had been looking for the Keg said to me Not to count on him any more, that a Rascal Should not serve an honest Man, and that since I was sending Smith to Winter elsewhere, I could look up some other Person, To tell me what the Savages wished to have me understand, when they should come to visit me.

Wednesday 12. Very early Boisvert came to find me at my

[51] Yellow Lake was a favorite Indian camping ground. B. F. Peck writes us that when he first knew the region nearly 1000 souls were there. There are in reality two lakes, connected by a thoroughfare of dead water thirty rods wide and about eighty long. The smaller lake covers about a hundred acres; the larger is about two miles in diameter. Both abound in wild rice and have high banks. Curot appears to have considered this all one lake, through which Yellow River flowed.—Ed.

tent,[52] and tell me that Savoyard would Do what I Asked of him, that I could Send Smith off. I did so not without Much grumbling on Savoiard's part, saying that it was nothing to do, that the Women Could help Smith to undertake The voyage From the river au serpent.[53] I let him talk and told Boisvert to go and help Smith to run the rapids of the river Jaune, and come back that night. I afterwards learned that Smith's wife had Left Him, and that he had taken another.

Thursday 13. Boisvert came back at two OClock in the afternoon, having been delayed the evening before. Rain had fallen at 5 o'Clock and lasted until the Next morning. Boisvert brought two geese that Smith had killed yesterday en route. All the time Boisvert was gone Savoyard kept repeating that I would have his death to answer for, that I was The Cause that he was lost or drowned. I believe The Poor wretch must have dreamed again. At Seven o'Clock David arrived with The son of Le petit mâle, they have been no farther than the Watershed of the river a la coquille.[54] The wife Of Ouaisza was too ill to permit them to continue Their route. He brought the meat of a deer, and two otters. The savages requested him to go and find them in Eight Days. The rain Lasted from friday 14 to Saturday 15. Boisvert broke his Ax in cutting a piece of Wood.

Sunday 16th. Three savages of the fond du Lac arrived at La prairie's fort The Son of L'Hiver and the Son of les Grand oreilles[55] who came after dinner to our house. I have Never

[52] The trader was still dwelling in his tent, since the proposed log house was only in course of construction.—Ed.

[53] It is about thirty-five miles on the St. Croix between the mouth of Snake River and that of the Yellow; moreover it is rough water, full of rapids and difficult to ascend. The Kettle Rapids, near the mouth of the affluent of that name, are several miles in extent.—Ed.

[54] Shell River, now called Clam, is named for the freshwater bivalve mollusks found in the lake near its source. It is the next affluent of the St. Croix south of Yellow, in Burnett County. The usage in regard to the form of the name varies greatly—a map of 1858 has Clam River and Shell Lake; one of 1854 has Kayesikang, or Shell River. The distance to its watershed must have been but a mile or two.—Ed.

[55] The names mean respectively, Winter and Big Ears. For the latter see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, *passim*.—Ed.

known where their hunting ground was, or whether they had any plus. After telling them that I would send my Men to Their Lodges with some Rum and some Merchandise To trade, they told me that they had nothing to trade with, that they had a credit of Mr. Grignon, and that they wished to pay Him. The Daughter of le petit mâle being ill, he came this evening with Ouaisza. The first gave me two Haunches of deer and one skin, two Rats, a goose and 5 Ducks. The other gave me a Goose. I gave them a little Rum and That night they had some medicine[56] made For the sick child, having me retire with my Men to the Store,[57] For the time being, with orders not to look.

Monday 17. The three savages Went off this morning, The Clerk of la prairie and one Man with them, they had Rum and some merchandise. About 3 o Clock this afternoon the son of le vieux mauvais oiseau arrived at the fort, afterwards he came to The house. I asked him if he came to look for The french.[58] He said no, that the savages hadn't killed anything, that he was Hungry, and that a few ducks and geese that he killed from Time to Time had kept them alive. Mr. Réaume arrived in a light canoe with two Men.

Tuesday 18th. Three savages, Le Sel, le Grand Fou, and Kaouincache, came here This evening to Seek the Frenchmen and conduct them to the Lodges of the others of their band to get the plus and Meat. I got from le Grand fou 1 Big Beaver and a little dried meat, for which I gave him a little Rum. They have been to La prairie's who gave them a pint of unadulterated [rum]. They drank that night in the house without my being able to Stop them. I refused to give them any more wishing Them to Leave Early, wondering at La prairie's having

---

[56] On making medicine consult *Ibid*, p. 194, note 75.—Ed.

[57] The warehouse for storing goods had evidently been completed by this time.—Ed.

[58] The name means the Bad Old Bird. Curot intends to explain that this Indian first visited the North West post ("the fort") then the X Y post ("the house"). He asked him if he had come to get some trader's assistant to go to his lodges; that is, if he had come to look for the French—the latter being a generic term for traders.—Ed.

sent them that pint By Le Sel, who did not wish to Drink himself and went off as soon as they were drunk. Savoyard hid a Great part of the Rum while they were away. I had David and Boisvert get ready.

Wednesday 19th. They left with the two savages this morning. La prairie having gone earlier with Le Sel.

Thursday 20. Mr. Réaume left this morning, he took Rum and Merchandise. La prairie's clerk came with a Bundle telling me to go after Smith, whom he had left Below the Big Rapids of The river. I sent savoyard, and that afternoon they arrived. Smith accounted to me for The merchandise and The Rum. He got in going up from le Grand Mâle 8 Plus and two lynxes, giving Him some Rum. He gave him Two plus's worth of ammunition, one pair cloth sleeves, a 1½ Point blanket For some Gum. The Wolves, so they told him had broken into The cache He and Boisvert had made and eaten Seven fawn-skins of rice. He brought me the Three that were left.[59] According to the report of Smith and of some Women who came with Him from The River au serpent, The savages Below for ten Days and ten nights Pillaged Mr. Réaume of a Barrel of pure Rum, and threatened to kill him, speaking of nothing but Pillage and murder.

Friday 18th [21st]. The Little Daughter of le petit Mâle died this morning, he came to announce it to me, begging me to fill for him a little kettle that he had in His Hand, In order to weep for her. I gave him 6 Fiolles[60] of mixed Rum, that it held, a little 1½ pt blanket to shroud her in, and one of my dishes that I lent him to add to the Mourning.

Saturday 22nd. David and Boisvert arrived this morning bringing Sixty two Plus, seven muskrats, and seven pieces of meat. David brought a little savage with him To serve as Guide in other Drouines. I gave him a 2 pt. blanket, a pair of leggins, and mirror, In order to engage him to remain at the

---

[59] See *ante* under Monday, Oct. 3, where Smith cached ten fawn-skins of rice which he had bought on Snake River.—Ed.

[60] For this term see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 217, note 16.—Ed.

house; also a pair of shoes, and an other pair to Connor For some little services he had rendered me en route.

Sunday 23d. Le petit mâle left this morning For lake La coquille.[61] I gave him another little Keg of mixed Rum, engaging him to come back in a few Days to conduct David and Boisvert to the lodges of les razeurs. This he promised to do. I had about 30 lb. of Gum made that I paid ½ Ax, 1 pair of cloth leggins, and a few beads for.

Monday 24. Savoyard has Gummed his canoe this morning and Left with Connor to go after Five Barrels of Rum put in cache at L'eau Claire. I advised him to bring only Four to The house and to Cache the other. Smith took The best of the old nets To mend The other, and went this after noon to Lake Jaune to set it. Le petit mâle came back this evening. He brought me a bear cub and two avolas, and told me that the savages were approaching, that I could send to Their Lodges, that they had plus. I bought of a woman a Big birch bark basket Full of rice, that I Paid a 2½ pt blanket for, also a little more than The half of another, that I Paid ½ Brasse of Cloth for. My neighbor has given For each fawn-skin a Brasse of H. B. Cloth.[62]

Tuesday, Wednesday, 25 and 26. I gave two shaved deer Skins that I had promised to le petit mâle. I Asked David and Boisvert, although it was not their turn, to go, and they made no objection. They got up in the night, cooked some things and at the break of Day departed with the little savage who was to lead them to the Lodges. I gave them a keg of 2 G^{n}. H. W. pure.

Thursday 27th. This morning David and Boisvert came back. They got from the savages Fifteen plus in peltry, ten Beaver Skins, 6 muskrats that David traded a few beads For, 1 cake of Fat, and Five plus in meat.

Friday 28th. This morning Smith left for the lodge of le

[61] Shell, now Clam Lake.—Ed.

[62] Hudson's Bay cloth, a firm-woven textile made in England for the fur-trade.—Ed.

Grand mâle who Should be at The Grande river. David took a Young girl 9 or 10 years old For his wife. I sold him merchandise, and he sent her back To take another one, who was Larger. I also sold him some Clothes to Dress this second one. About three oClock in the afternoon Smith came back without having seen the savages. Three savages came from Lake La coquille, Pichiquequi, Nenbennoi, and Ouaisza. They Asked Rum of me, I refused them. They went to La prairie's fort and got some from his clerk that they brought to the house and There drank it, and spent the night.

Saturday 29th. At ten oClock this morning The three savages left with a half keg of Rum that they got at the fort. They told me that le prairie had passed the night before last at their Lodges, that he had gone to try and find The Lodges of les Razeurs, that he would certainly not find them if he did not hire a savage For a Guide, that in passing he had given them a little Keg of Rum. I had planned to send Thither, if the little savage had been in this region he could have acted as guide but I was not able to find him just then. Le petit mâle who had agreed with me to act as Guide no longer wished to do so. He will go, he says, when he has taken up the body of his daughter and buried her at the Lake of the folle Avoine.[63] La petitte martre from fond du Lac and a young savage have just come to La prairie's Fort, they Asked for French men To go with them to their Lodges, where they left Le Gros dos, with 25 plus and some meat. I got [from them] a whole deer with The skin for Four chopines of mixed Rum. He brought a Letter From Mr. Sayer, who is to arrive in a very few Days. Le petit Mâle gave me two sides of a deer—The skin he wished to have To go and trade at La Prairie's For some Rum, that I would not give Him. I bought a pair of shoes Made of deer skin, Paying 2 Brasses of *Nancy Prettys* [sic]. I gave them to *david* and another Pair to Boisvert. Le Grand mâle just came and gave me a Haunch

[63] There are several so-called Rice Lakes in this neighborhood—that in Burnett County, on the upper waters of Yellow River, is the one here designated. There is still a Chippewa village on this lake, which has been there since the knowledge of the earliest white settlers.—Ed.

and one side of a deer with The skin. He Asked for a Big keg of Rum, Saying that he is a Chief and will not be put off. I told him he ought to be satisfied, I had already given him one as we came in, and that Smith For the few Plus that he had, had given him Four Fiolles of Pure Rum, but that I had no more to give without Return, and that he must Let me alone. When he was Hungry I would speak to him but not at present. This night I traded with The son of le vieux mauvais oiseau a pair of Armlets worth five Plus. He gave me Four on account, I advanced him three more plus in earrings and a little cross. Savoyard came this evening with Four Kegs H. W. which unfortunately The savages saw brought into The house.

Sunday 30th. Le Grande mâle came again this morning to Ask for some Rum. I made him the same reply as yesterday, he Asked me for a Little keg of two Gallons that I refused; finally he Demanded that I fill for him a little kettle that I had given him. Not to be too severe as it only held 4 pints, I gave it to him Telling him not to ask for any more that he couldn't have it. Le petit mâle obliged me to give him 1 pint also. I gave 2 pints to the son of le vieux mauvais oiseau and his father an old man, who Smith and Savoyard Say has been very Useful to the traders. La petitte martre Asked me to send Some one with him with some Rum and Merchandise To trade for his plus, and those of the other Savages; Savoyard says he will go and take what I send.

Monday 31st. I had Smith and Connor go off This morning to the lodge of le Brochet with some Rum, ammunition, Tobacco, and silverware that he had Asked of Smith last autumn as we came in. Also savoyard with Boisvert to go with Le Petitte martre, I gave them cloth and blankets, some Rum, tobacco, and ammunition. Le petit mâle Asked David to go with him to the folle avoine to look for rice and transport thither his daughter's body. David sent off his second wife this morning after having taken from her a part of her Belongings.

November 1st. Tuesday. David left This morning about nine o'clock with Le petit mâle. A moment after La prairie arrived with his men. Le Grand mâle went to the fort and in

an Instant came out with a Big tin Kettle Full of Rum, a Large Capot of Blue molton Trimmed with gilt tinsel, and a small one of the same Color Trimmed the same. As soon as he was drunk, he came to find me, and as well as I could understand,[64] Asked me to give him a capot and some Rum. I told him that I couldn't that I didn't have either of them. All The night it was the same Demand and the same reply. I had Much trouble with this savage. I received several Blows of his fist, one especially that made my upper Lip swell up.

Wednesday 2. This morning he came again to find me in order to get Rum. I still refused, he Demanded some meat saying he was Hungry. I gave him a piece and Led him to his Lodge to Cook it hoping that after eating that he would be a little less Drunk. After dinner he came and asked for another piece that I gave him, he wished to take me to La prairie's fort. I don't know why. I didn't wish to go There. About Three oclock Mr. Sayer arrived at the fort in his canoe with only his Baggage, his wife, Two Children, a negro, and another Man.

Thursday 3d. Mr. Sayer has taken the Men's house for himself and is having another one Built For them. The son of le viel mauvais oiseau left This morning to go and visit the traps that he had set from here to Lake à La coquille and to continue as far as the lodges announcing to the savages Mr. Sayer's arrival. At eight o'clock This evening Pichiquequi, Nenbennoi, and ouaisza came in; That night they went off with a Keg of 9 Gallons H. W.

Friday 4th. Savoyard's wife came this morning. She said that the savages were starving, that le *Grand fou* is Very ill. The savages are busy making medicine For him, and are not hunting at all. Towards 4 o'Clock savoyard came with eleven beaver skin, 1 dressed Elk skin, one green deer skin, one mink, and two muskrats, one plus of powder and three of Ball. He has put in cache at le meckaganne about Five Pints H. W. Pure; he sold The 2½ pt. blanket for Two plus, and that of

[64] Having sent off all the men on *drouine*, Curot had no one to interpret for him, or to aid him with this drunken Indian.—Ed.

3 pts. for three, and ½ Brasse of H. B. cloth for three plus and a half. I got one lynx skin For a little Rum, and one dressed Elk skin For a pair of Bracelets.

Saturday 5th. Smith's wife went off with a savage of the fond du Lac who came last evening. Savoyard went to the river à la coquille to look for his wife's Goods. I got from the son of le viel mauvais oiseau two Haunches of deer giving him for them a chopine of mixed Rum. At three o'Clock Smith came with Connor, he brought Fifty six beaver pelts, 23 muskrats, 1 green Elk skin, and is to go back in a few Days with some merchandise and Rum that le Brochet Asks for. He has still more plus that he wishes to trade.

Sunday 6. Smith went with Boisvert to the Grande river to look for The rice that his wife had cached, and brought also a deer that a Wolf had strangled the day before. Payedihique and Kitchinimiskoutte arrived here To get some Rum. I gave them a little Keg of 2 Gallons mixed. Mr. Sayer having told them not to come here, that I was worthy of pity, that I had nothing; that he would Leave some one next summer with them, who would give them Rum and merchandise; that if they had only me To furnish their needs for them, that they would also be worthy of pity; that I would depart Early in the spring, and Leave no one with them. I had them told not to listen to him, and Asked them if they had ever been as well off when La prairie was Their only trader. They replied no. I added "Pay your Credits and you will not want for either merchandise or Rum." They left that afternoon, but did not go Far. Pichiquequi brought them back To take part in the medicine feast that he was making at The lodge of le Jeune Corbeau who was brought here yesterday on a Litter from the Grande River, it must be 3½ miles away. This Young Savage had his nose cut off By Le Brochet of The river au serpent, whom he killed with Blows of a Knife. They were Jealous of one another Concerning Smith's wife, who wished, as Men have two wives, to have two husbands; he was found thus, and as soon as he was seen without a nose, he gave to the other savages his knife saying to them that it would be an act of charity to kill him, that he pre-

ferred to die rather than appear Such as he was. Those who were yet drunk gave him several blows of the Knife that are mortal. Le petit Rocher with his family has just arrived, he reports that the Sioux have discovered Them and that Since he left The river au serpent, he has not had news of le vieux mâle and his son, that he believes that they have been killed By them [the Sioux]. David arrived This evening with Le petit mâle he brought two geese, nine Ducks, a Fisher and an Otter, two fawn-skins of wild rice for which I paid the wife of le petit mâle a Brasse of Cloth.

Monday 7. Kitchinimiscoutte, and Payédgique Left This morning, on leaving they Asked me to send a frenchman with them, that Mr. Sayer would send one. I had already Asked David if he was not too Fatigued would he be willing to go with them, and he had said that he would. He Asked me for thirty Balls, his horn full of powder, and one pair of deer skin shoes, and some Tobacco that I gave him. I advised him to try to hire a savage that I would pay to Guide him to the Lodges of les razeurs, to send me word and I would send him a man with some Rum, well knowing that la prairie had planned To go There, but could not find their trail.

Tuesday 8th. Le Petit Corbeau died This morning at 4 o'clock. he was buried with The ordinary Ceremonies. I lent them a pickax Which I cannot find To make the grave. I was Obliged to give some Rum, I poured out 6 Fiolles, in the course of the Day; I gave two Pints to le Grand mâle who is not to ask me for any more until Next spring when he is to Pay his credit. I got from him a deer skin and two lynx skins on account. The savages are not Pleased with Mr. Sayer, who keeps the door of his fort closed. I got an avola from Ouaisza, paid for it a chopine of mixed Rum.

Wednesday 9th. All the savages being quiet, I left this morning with Smith and Connor to go to the lodge of le Brochet, to obtain the remainder of his and his son's credit and to trade for the surplus with merchandise and silver. I had gone no farther than the Grande river when I was obliged to turn back, not being able to launch the canoe, since The river was Full of

Descending Ice. La prairie left just before me, where he was going I do not know. Le petit rocher and his family left after dinner.

Thursday 10th. Smith's Wife came back from her promenade last evening, he went after Her today to a little Lodge at half an arpent from the house. I got from her an Otter for which I paid 30 Crosses, having done my best [but vainly] to get it on Smith's account.

Friday, Saturday 11 and 12. Nenbennoi gave to Savoyard's wife yesterday a shoulder and side of deer. Smith left today to go to the lodge of le petit rocher and that of le petit mâle, whom he didn't find. I got from Savoyard's wife a cake of Fat belonging to her mother for which I paid a Two pt. Blanket. I bought from Smith an iron Frying pan for two dozen Rings. Le Grand mâle left this morning telling me to come to his lodge in 6 Days. he Asked of me in parting some medicine—a dose of Haubert Salts, which I gave him. I gave to Pichiquequi, Nenbennoi, Ouaisza, and Le Sel For the meat that they brought me 10 Pints [of liquor]. Pichiquequi when a little Tipsy In the night, told me that Mr. Sayer had given him a chief's capot and a Big Keg, saying to him to turn away the Savages, and hinder them from paying me their Credits, and not to furnish me any provisions, that if he succeeded he would give him a chief's Coat &ca. Next Spring That he had replied that he was not a chief and that Since he was thirsty he would go hunting either for a plus or a deer that he could trade for Rum, that he did not command any savages, that they were all Equal and would go where they liked to trade and that he himself would do the same. The Savages gave me on account of the Rum above mentioned, four green deer skins and two Beaver pelts, and two muskrats.

Sunday 13th. Pichiquequi who should have gone with the others came This morning to Ask me for 6 Fiolles of Rum on credit. I was for a moment at my wits' end. Seeing that I was Undecided, he assured me not to fear that he would pay me the Second Credit as well as he had paid the first, that he

would send and notify me as soon as he had killed anything so I let him have it. Le Grand mâle's wife came this morning to notify us to go to the lodge of her husband to get two deer; Smith and Boisvert at once left with her and in the afternoon they brought a buck with its skin, The haunch and one shoulder of the doe.

Monday 14th. The savages left this morning. They got from Mr. Sayer a Keg of 9 Gns. Le petit mâle sent his Boy to give us notice to come to his lodge. Savoyard and Connor left with him. Smith went to the bank of the Grande river to see if it is possible to launch his canoe To go to le Brochet's lodge. I had from Savoyard's wife a bear-cub skin for a heap of barley. Savoyard brought two doe skins, two Haunches and one side of venison that he got from le petit mâle. While Smith and Connor were ready To go Tomorrow morning to le Brochet's The latter arrived with his son who entered the house while The father went to the fort. I sold one of the pistols, received Two Otters; and gave twenty pairs of earbobs For two Beaver. I gave him six Fiolles of mixed rum that he gave to Pichiquequi who is Camped at The entrance of the Lake Jaune, he also went to get some at Mr. Sayer's.

Tuesday 15th. Le Brochet Senior came this morning to Ask me for a drink of Rum that I let him have. Le petit mâle just came having received yesterday a message with a Piece of tobacco that Mr. Sayer sent him By the son of petit rocher. He Asked for some Rum, I said that I would give him some when he went away. I believe that that Monsieur [Sayer] does all he can to Starve me with my Men; he tries to Debauch The savages, he has even had the skill to withdraw to his house the little savage, it is now four Days since he has approached The house; either he is keeping him Hidden, or he has sent Him Somewhere.

Wednesday 16th. Smith went to visit the nets this morning, and brought back six fish. Le Brochet spoke This morning with his son who is to remain here some Days. I gave him when he left a Gorget To engage Him not to cheat me, and

not to sequester his credit. He promised, and gave me his pipe saying that I must not leave next spring until he had seen me. This I promised him. He left his gun in my care. I paid his father for what Smith got from him, For 13 muskrats and one avola, one small Blanket; for 1 green Elk Skin, 1 pr. Cloth leggins; for Some Gum that Smith had made in his Lodge to Gum his canoe, 1 pair of Cloth Sleeves. La Prairie, his Man, The negro, and The little Boy left with them [Brochet's party].

Thursday 17. Towards five o'Clock last evening La pièrre a filée and Le plat[65] arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort; they came soon after to The house, and Asked me for Rum. I gave them a chopine of it diluted; they Demanded more which I refused, promising to give them a Half Keg when they departed, they having said that they had Left with David thirteen plus.

Friday 18th. I got the skin of a buck for 20 priming wires. Le Grand fou arrived this morning. I traded some Rum with him for two cakes of fat. I got also from him a piece of dried meat Smith asked for a chopine of Rum to pay For a deer, that he got from him last year, for which he had not paid. David arrived at 10 o'Clock, bringing 21 plus, and a cake of Fat. I got from him a Big Beaver, and a blanket of 3 pts that I received in payment For a Brasse of H. B. Cloth. This was the blanket I lent him when I send Savoyard The 31 of Last month with The savages of the fond du Lac, not wishing to let the savages hereabouts know that I still had some merchandise, having refused it to several. The savages are at the river à la coquille, having Left their first place more advanced toward The Sioux, thinking that they had heard the reports of their guns.

Saturday 19. This morning at the break of Day I sent off David, Boisvert and Connor To go with some Rum to waylay les Razeurs on their trail. The savages told me that the reports of

[65] Two celebrated chiefs of the Lac du Flambeau band, who in 1804 were in the interests there of the X Y Company. See Malhiot's "Journal" in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 206, note 94, for La Pierre á affiler or Keeshkenum. Le Plat was probably Plat Coté, for whom see *Ibid*, pp. 184, 216.—Ed.

the guns that they had heard were probably theirs, and that they thought they were not Far from the Lake La Coquille. I gave them some Shoes, powder, and Ball. Yesterday evening The savages of the fond du Lac arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort. Savoyard brought me his Axe Broken. This morning before the departure La petitte martre came to Ask me to send someone with Him to his Lodge to get some plus and meat. I Asked Smith if he would go There and he said no, that this savage wished to trap me and Drink The Rum that I unwittingly should send, that if he as well as the others had really something at Their Lodges he would have notified me Yesterday, and not this morning at the moment of his Departure nor would he have gone so soon. The savages left, Babeux is with them, he carried Some Rum. At 9 o Clock *Kaouinedache* arrived To get some Frenchmen To go to the Lodges of les Razeurs to get their plus. Smith left at once to overtake David &ca. and have Them come to Camp at the Lake Jaune where Kaouinedache Would take them on his route, he having Said that he would not leave until Tomorrow morning. Fearing that Smith could not overtake them I had Savoyard get ready to go with Him. In the night La prairie left with his Men, and The savage who had come at nine o'clock to advise me to be ready for he would leave Early in the morning went with him. If there had been snow I should have undertaken a pursuit, but there was none, and no Guide nor a possibility of getting one at any Price. This was during the night of Sunday the 20, on Monday the 21st savoyard having been on Saturday the 19th at the lodge of le Grand mâle brought two does with the skins. Smith arrived This morning without having seen David or the two others. The latter arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon not having seen La prairie pass. The savages of the Lake La Coquille had, however, told David that he passed very Early in the morning. He wished them to show Him The trail that he [La prairie] had taken, no one would Guide Them [David and his men], and he did not dare expose him self to such an undertaking as to follow La prairie, fearing he might Stray away too far.

Tuesday, Wednesday 22 and 23. Last night during the

night three savages went to Mr. Sayer's fort and soon returned with a keg of 9 Gall[s] so the women who were in the lodges near the fort told me. Today The mother of Kitchinimiscoutte brought me a buck skin For Rum. I gave her a chopine, from another woman I got a cake of fat and a deer skin for two chopines.

Having observed that there were certain murmurs among the men who had no Wives, that the provisions were going Very fast, I Determined to put them all on rations spite of The threats of Savoyard and Smith that they would Leave, if I did not have provisions to give Them. (I had not done this since I Left The fond du Lac Until now). Savoyard was the last to Ask me that evening for his rations. I went into the storehouse and gave him two chopines of parched rice which he refused to take saying that of that rice The custom was to receive three chopines For two people for each Ration, Because it did not make as much as that that was not roasted. I told him that I did not know any other Custom than this, a single man received one pint a Day, and he who had a wife two, That I would not give him More, that the others were perfectly contented, that he Could do as they did. He said that he would get it elsewhere. Go where you like, I told him, but before your Belongings go from here I must have security for what I have advanced you, and what was advanced to you before you left the Grand Portage, Since you yourself are so regular and so particular with regard to your ration. In other words I treated him as a thief, adding that I noted that he had not taken concealed goods but that I should so regard him if he left the Service of the Company and went to that of another without giving security; moreover he must find some means of having it paid. He continued to pile up his Belongings muttering while doing so, and tore apart his bed and threw The covers and Blankets about saying to me to come and pick up what belonged to me. Deprived of my usual tranquility and Transported with rage, I gathered it all up, and advanced to Strike Him. Probably I did so, we scuffled a Long time until the others separated us. At last he took the two chopines of Parched rice, N. B. When Savoyard has nothing

left in his plate or his kettle The next day, he [declares] he has not received his ration.

Thursday 24. David and Boisvert left this morning for the Lodges to remain with The savages This Winter—David with La pierre affilée and Boisvert with *Kitchinimiscoutte.* I gave them something with which to make themselves shoes. The wife of *le Grand fou* notified us to go to her lodge for some meat. I Sent Savoyard and Connor; Savoyard brought a deer, and Connor stayed at the Lodges.

Friday, Saturday 25 & 26. Yesterday three savages came to Mr. Sayer's fort; today at nine o'Clock La prairie arrived. The savages Begged me for Rum, which I refused, if they had brought me meat I would have paid them, since they brought nothing, they could not have any. David, Boisvert and Connor arrived. I received an Otter, a Large Bear, a deer skin, a Fisher, and a rat, as well as the meat of a deer that le Beuf[66] had given Them.

Sunday, Monday 27 & 28. Yesterday morning they went back to the Lodges. Today Boisvert and Connor brought a deer and 4 skins from Kitchinimiscoutte who Asked me by Boisvert for a small Keg of Rum, that I sent him. Savoyard killed a deer that he put in the store. To appease him I bought The skin for a 1 pt. Blanket.

Tuesday, Wednesday 29 & 30. Yesterday David and Boisvert left the Savages, who Teased them To come and get some Rum. They went back today. The savages are about to change their encampment.

December 1st, Thursday. I bought a tin pipe having a Stem for a Brasse of Calico on my own Account, the one that I got of le petit Brochet having got broken.

Friday 2. At two o'Clock in the afternoon Boisvert arrived with le jeune Razeur. I received from him 10 buck skins, 6 ditto of does, 1 Beaver, 1 Otter, 2 lynxes and one skin of a She

[66] An important chief of La Pointe village was named Beshike or the Buffalo [Le Bœuf]—see *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, v, p. 464; also Schoolcraft, *Narrative*, p. 271. There would seem to have been another chief of the Folle Avoine country by the same name; see *Ibid*, p. 293.—Ed.

bear. Le petit noir sent on acct. 1 buck skin and one cat; Payédgique two buck skins. I got from a Woman three martens, 3 lynxes, and six muskrats For six pairs of Ear Bobs and one pair of Common Cloth leggins; from another a cake of Fat for ½ a skein of yarn, also Buck Skin For a little ear ring. Le Jeune Razeur Asked me for a 9 G^ll^s. Keg of Rum, that I was obliged to promise him, having done my best to give Him less, having already Given him a chief's shirt, and also promised him Next spring on his return from hunting, if he paid his credit The coat and a Big Keg, but all in vain. In the Evening he told Smith that he had seen some Traders from the south, that the Sioux had despoiled them of Their Peltry and that they had only a little powder with some Ball left, he added that there were three Men, of whom one was English and the other two Canadians, they had no merchandise, and were themselves hunting for provisions. The cold was very Great all Last night, and continued The same today, and no snow, or at least very little.

Saturday 3d. La Garde arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort with two men. According to the report of a woman who came with them as Guide, The Savages of the river au serpent have been Discovered by the Sioux this autumn, she added that three spies approached Mr. Reaume's house, that he was not at home, that they [Mr. Reaume's party] left some time ago, and that she with two of Mr. Reaume's men were there alone. These latter saw the spies as well as she. She also said that he [Reaume] was all out of Merchandise and that they had lived for a Long time on rice.

Sunday, Monday, 4 and 5. Today La Garde left. Mr. Lacroix and Babeux are with him. At 10 o'Clock Henry and Taillefer's[67] son came to announce the death of Mr. Lavoilette[68] of

[67] Henry may have been William Henry, for whom see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 505, note 41; he was at this time an apprentice in the fur-trade. Joseph Taillefer was an old *voyageur;* for a record of his children's baptisms and marriages see *Ibid,* pp. 505, 506; xix, p. 116.—Ed.

[68] Gabriel Attina *dit* Laviolette was born at Quebec, Dec. 18, 1748, the son of a French soldier. He early entered the fur-trade, and in

the fond du Lac. They were five Days on their Journey. I got from Taillefer during the night 3 Otters, 6 lynxes, one Bearskin, For one pair of Earrings worth 4/9 and one little ring 3/2, and one Brasse and a breechcloth of H. B. cloth. I also got from Savoyard and Smith one lynx on their two accounts— From Smith For one piece of braid given at the fond du Lac, and Savoyard for 20 priming wires given here.

Tuesday, Wednesday 6 and 7. Smith and Connor went yesterday to the lodge and brought the meat of a deer with two doe Skins, that they got of le Plat. Today David and Boisvert arrived at The house not wishing to remain any longer with The savages, Fearing to Fast too much among them. They told me that the savages didn't hunt, but Day and night Played au plat.[69] Henry and Taillefer left this morning For fond du Lac.

Thursday, friday, Saturday 8, 9, and 10. During These Days The sun was hidden we had rain on The first two. I got Yesterday a buck skin for a pair of Cloth Leggins.

Sunday 11th. The day was very Lovely, The cold having entirely Diminished. Le Jeune Razeur arrived at the house with one of his wives and spent the night there.

Monday 12. This morning Le Jeune razeur Asked me for ammunition, Tobacco, and ½ skein of Yarn. He also asked for Rum, but I told him that I had no more. He went to Mr. Sayer's fort who gave him a ½ keg; he asked me for one of my Men to

---

1783 had a son who three years later was baptized at Mackinac; *Ibid*, p. 84. In 1784 he was wintering at La Pointe *(Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, p. 518*)*, and the following year was clerk for the North West Company; *Id*, xi, 549. In 1789–90 he with Cadotte, Reaume, Sayer, and Perrault formed a partnership for the Fond du Lac, when Laviolette wintered at Leech Lake; and the succeeding year they were at Crow Wing River—*Id*, xxxvii, p. 555. His death is noted by Alexander Henry Jr.; see Coues, *Greater Light*, p. 244.—Ed.

[69] This is a game played with a wooden dish or platter (hence the name) and several thin circular counters of metal or bone, one side of which is stained black. The game consists in so striking the dish that the counters fly into the air, in the hope that the black side will fall uppermost, thus counting for the holder of the platter. See Grant, "Sauteur Indians," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, p. 340.—Ed.

go home with Him. David said he would go and is to rejoin him as soon as Le Grand razeur comes, who is expected every Day, To begin The Great medicine. Savoyard's wife went to the Lodges three Days ago, To get them to receive her. I lent my gun to le Jeune Razeur. At five o Clock this evening his brother arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort, he came a moment afterwards to the house to tell Smith that at midnight he would come and get him To go after a pack of peltries that he had cached near here. He did this at eleven o Clock and I received The Peltries and entered them on his credit. I got from Kaoumedoche an Otter on a/c.

Tuesday, Wednesday 13 and 14. Le Grand razeur left This morning I gave him a Two Gal. Keg of H. W. unadulterated, however he found it too little and said he would come In a short time to ask me for some more, that he would come with Nothing, that he was not like the other savages, that he would Give me nothing and promise nothing, and he wanted to know if I would give him some. I told them to tell him Perhaps he could have some. Le petit noir came here and reported that the savages were all Starving, that they could kill nothing, although they went hunting Daily. Smith's wife left to stay with the savages This Winter. I had The elk skin smoked in order to have some shoes made.

Thursday 15 to Sunday 18th. Smith stretched two nets under the Ice on Lake Jaune Yesterday, these he visited This morning and brought 4 Pike. David went to the Lodges to stay until Tomorrow.

Monday 19th. Smith visited The nets, but nothing was taken. The cold began again. La pierre affilee and Le petit Loup arrived here, saying they could kill nothing that it was too Cold, and there was no snow to show the deer's tracks. Babeux left this morning to go up to Mr. Lacroix's along The trail that leads to the fond du Lac, he is to come back again. Mr. Sayer sent off three of his Men to The river au serpent to Look for Mr. Reaume's packets, who sent word to Mr. Sayer on their return that he was Able to Defend and Guard the packs that were in

his care and his own also, as well as his fort, that he did not fear The Sioux.

Tuesday 20th. The cold continues. David came this morning with Mr. Lacroix who has frozen one foot. Le petit Loup on his return Yesterday afternoon shot Sarrasin,[70] one of Mr. Sayer's Men who was out gathering wood, Because he would not change guns with him.

Wednesday 21. The cold continues. Smith did not visit the nets This morning, but when about three oClock it grew slightly warmer I went with David and Boisvert and brought back one small Pike. Le Grand *Razeur, Pichiquequi* and *Kitchinimiscoutte* came after some Rum, they got a 9 Gall. Keg From Mr. Sayer. The Medicine begins tomorrow.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday 22, 23, 24. In These three Days there were only four Fish taken in two nets. The Cold has entirely diminished. Christmas eve was lovely, as pleasant as Spring. I gave David some flour to make Pancakes. I gave him also a taste of Rum As a treat, or Christmas Feast as he would not be here on that day. I gave him powder, Ball, and tobacco, and something to make shoes with on Friday the 23, and Saturday he went to rejoin Le Jeune Razeur. Smith went with him The savages having Asked him to show them the trail they should take.

Christmas 25. Smith came back this morning, he brought two sides of venison, that Le Grand fou gave him, a Beaver from le petit Loup and a fisher from La pierre affilee. Kitchinimiscoutte has Asked for a Frenchman To stay with Him. I sent Boisvert and Connor the latter of whom is to come back with some meat that the savages have promised to give him, having all left to go hunting This morning.

Monday 26th. Savoyard's wife arrived today. I visited the nets yesterday with Smith, Took a Pike, went again today, having lifted one net put another in its place, took two Pike and one Carp.

---

[70] A *voyageur* of this name is mentioned in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 79.—Ed.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday 27, 28, 29, took in these three Days five Fish. Tuesday Boisvert came back from the Lodges ill. I believe however it was boredom rather than anything else, he brought six deer skins.

Friday, Saturday 30, 31. Smith, Boisvert, and Connor left to go to the Lodges before they break up. They arrived today with six sides and eight legs of venison, three lynx Skins, and one muskrat. The Mother in law Of La prairie died yesterday at 8 oClock in the morning, buried at 4 today.

January 1804 First.

Yesterday at noon The snow began to Fall and lasted Until Five o'Clock when it ceased, it began again This morning and continued all Day and night. I gave the men a Bottle of Rum For a New year's gift. I went For The first time to make a daylight call on Mr. Sayer alone.

Monday, Tuesday 2 & 3d. The snow lasted Until two o'Clock Yesterday afternoon. Smith and Boisvert visited The nets and brought back two Pike and a Tolibi.[71] This fish is extremely soft. I measured one of the Pike from its Head to its tail it was 24 inches Long, and 18 inches around. At eight o'clock This evening David arrived at the Lodges with Ouaisza and Le Sel, who has Smith's wife For his own. This did not put the latter in any too good humor. Savoyard has Great Fear that his wife will likewise desert him. These two Savages were Sent By le Grand razeur to Mr. Sayer's fort To get a Keg of Rum. He has been made chief Since he came to bring me his Pack. David brought one Beaver and one Otter. The savages brought nothing.

Wednesday 4. The two savages left This morning Two of Mr. Sayer's Men with them and one 9 Gn. Keg of Rum. I asked David if there were any Furs at the Lodges, and he told me

---

[71] The modern spelling of this word is "tullibee," applied to *Leucichthys tullibee, Richardson.* In all but the most recent works it is called *Coregonus tullibee.* It is the most common whitefish found in our inland lakes.—Prof. George Wagner.

See descriptions of this fish in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vii, p. 196; *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii, p. 521.—Ed.

there was nothing the Savages not having killed anything, that they were destitute and Starving. Visited The nets took two fish. This Afternoon Savoyard asked if I would have any objection if he went with his Wife to Pass the winter with the savages. I told him no, I had none, he Could go and it was thus arranged. I gave again to David some powder and Ball, since he told me each time he came from the Lodges that The savages had taken all away from him even to his Tobacco.

Thursday 5th. Smith, Boisvert, and Connor left before Daybreak for the Lodges. I gave 15 Nips of diluted Rum and a Small Piece of Tobacco for each Man. 5 of these Smith had Asked for when he left for their Lodges The 31 of last month. David and Savoyard with his wife left also This morning.

Friday 6th. Smith and the other two came back This morning, they brought seven sides, 3 Haunches, 3 Shoulders of deer, with a Beaver that Kaouinedache gave on acct. Smith sold His Pistol worth Four Plus and had it put on acct. also a Beaver and a lynx. He is to return to the Lodges In four Days.

Saturday 7. I sent By Boisvert and Connor to Get The Last Keg of H. W. that had been cached By Savoyard Last Autumn at the Grande River. I visited the nets with Smith, caught Two fish. Boisvert and Connor came back at six o'clock without the Keg which they could not find.

Sunday & Monday 8 & 9th. It was very cold Yesterday all day. Having moderated Smith left This morning with Boisvert to look for The Keg, which they found, and at three o'Clock they got back with it. Smith killed an Otter that he gave me on account for what he had had From me.

Tuesday 10th. Smith, Boisvert, and Connor left This morning for the lodges. I gave them a 2 Gns. Keg of H. W., they got back at eight o'clock this evening. The savages have not hunted. Mr. Sayer sent his clerk some days ago to Tell Them to take Care that the Sioux were near that The Band that had been with Le Beuf had heard the Reports of guns, and that he desired them to unite with this band and stay in a fort near by, that he was going to have laprairie and His Men build. Two

Savages Believed Him and had already made an encampment in order to rejoin the Band.

Wednesday, Thursday 11 & 12th. I went with Smith to visit the nets that had caught nothing. I made them lift them yesterday. A little snow fell. Today Smith and Boisvert went to Le Beuf's Band, and at Four o'clock Ouaisza arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort. He came to Ask me for some Rum. I told him that I had none. He said that Le Grand Razeur, was seriously ill, and that he must have some For him Even if he had to get it from Mr. Sayer.

Friday 13th. This morning Le Corbeau a savage Of the river au serpent arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort, one hour after Mr. Lacroix, one Man and a savage had left. At four oClock in the afternoon David came from the Lodges. He says that the Savages are very Hungry that for three Days they have had nothing to eat except strips of wood, he confirms Ouaisza's report adding that le Razeur wished to see Laprairie before he died, that he Asked for some Rum and a fawn-skin of rice.

Saturday 14th. Snow fell this morning Until two o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. Lacroix passed with his Man and Le Corbeau, he had a Packet in which I believe there was more Meat than furs. Smith arrived about three o'Clock bringing a deer that he got from le Grand fou, he left Boisvert at the Lodges who is to come back Tomorrow and the Savages the day after to pay up the Credit that they have from Mr. Sayer.

Laprairie left This morning with Two Men for le Grand Razeur's lodge.

Sunday 15th. David left this morning planning to come back in a few Days with his Belongings if the savages fast too much. Boisvert came in with the meat of two deer, one of which he got from le Grand fou and the other from le Beuf. The savages Asked for Smith, he left at noon to spend the night at the Lodges. Le Grand fou arrived about three o'Clock, he has killed nothing today, but asked me for Rum, of which I gave him two chopines Diluted. He Drank it at The lodge of *le Corbeau.*

Monday, 16th. At Eight oClock this morning Smith came

to the house. The savages having killed nothing Yesterday, arrived about ten oClock, and Camped near the fort. *Pichiquequi, Kitchinimiscoutte, Le Fils de la petitte Riviere, Pichinami,* and *Le viel, La mer de Daigle* and some Women who are widows. I got from pichiquequi on account for his credit one Fisher.[72] I did my best to secure 10 Beaver skins that he has in his lodge. I gave him a small Tin Basin that he Asked for, to make himself a pipe. I proposed to trade them for Rum, for merchandise, silverware, Beads, all in vain, he was absolutely unwilling to give them to me. I demanded them from him on his credit, he was still less willing, replying that he loved them. I offered him a blanket to no avail. He told Smith that he was Keeping them to make a robe for himself to Cover him in The night. No proposition moved him.

Tuesday 17th. He came This morning to Ask me for Rum. I tried again before giving him any to Demand of him The 10 Beaver skins He replied Give me some Rum. I gave him some hoping that he would Give them to me, finally he said that they no longer belonged to him, but that I was not to be Disturbed With regard to his credit, that he had already Paid part and that he would still kill many Beavers to pay me. I got from his wife one dressed deer skin For a little Shirt.

Wednesday 18th. I got from Kitchinimiscoutte on a/c some doe skins. I paid le Grand Fou for his two deer Two G^{lls} of diluted Rum.

Thursday, Friday 19 & 20. I got yesterday from a woman a lynx skin For one pint of mixed Rum. This morning Le Grand fou Asked Boisvert To go hunting with Him, as it was very cold, he wanted me to give him a shirt. I let him have one of mine, he killed nothing this day.

Saturday, Sunday, 21, 22nd. The weather having Moderated a Great deal Smith set two nets under the Ice that he visited today, *nothing.*

Monday 23d. This Morning all the savages left to be gone

---

[72] For account of this fur-bearing animal see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 231, note 39.—Ed.

on a deer Hunt for several Days. I got from a woman about 10 lbs. of Gum for which I paid a Quarter of an ell of Cloth. Boisvert and Connor went to visit The nets, they lifted one and brought back a poisson Doré.[73]

Tuesday 24th. I left This morning with Boisvert to go and find the Savages, who had told me that they would camp In the portage at the rapids of river Jaune. We went there but did not find them, so we came back to the house. At one o'Clock in the afternoon Grand fou's wife came to notify us to go to his lodge at the Big Hills [Grandes Côtes] for Two Deer. Boisvert and Connor went immediately.

Wednesday 25. Connor arrived This morning with a manichinse[74] Two Haunches and the hind quarter of a female. Boisvert having stayed at the Lodge in order to go after a deer that le Grand fou had left in the Woods, he arrived this evening with Le Grand fou having Cached his deer that he is to get Tomorrow.

Thursday 26th. This morning Connor and Boisvert left to go after yesterday's deer. Boisvert had to go to look for his blanket that he had lost Last night, and Connor brought it back an Hour after Boisvert came in with the savages. He got from Pichiquequi two haunches and two sides, and from Kitchinimiscoutte Two sides. Le Grand fou Asked me as payment for the deer Two Gn. diluted Rum. Kitchinimiscoutte asked for 2½ pints and Pichiquequi 1½ pints.

Friday, Saturday, Sunday, 27th, 28th, 29th. These Two first Days The savages Drank Day and night. I bought of le Corbeau a pair of shoes made of deer skin for a chopine of diluted Rum. Today they left for the hunt and Ought to be gone some Days. Smith & Boisvert are with Le Grand fou. Nenbennoi and Le Sel arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort.

Monday 30th. David arrived This evening with The Two Razeurs, Ouaisza and Le petit Mâle; he got from the latter

---

[73] For this fish see *Ibid*, p. 168, note 29.—Ed.

[74] The only animals yielding haunches and shoulders in our north woods would be white-tailed deer, or possibly in earlier day, moose, elk, or caribou.—Prof. George Wagner.

turning them over to me, six deer skins, Two Otters, Two fishers, 7 muskrats, 1 lynx, 1 mink, and 4 pieces of dried meat; from the son of le viel mauvais oiseau, Two fishers and a lynx; he gave me towards his credit 1 fisher and 1 lynx. Savoyard sent a fisher on a/c. According to David's report if Savoyard would have come to the forts, Le petit mâle would have given him 50 to 60 lbs. of Fat. Le Jeune Razeur is wounded in the Hand, Savoyard's gun having burst, I gave him Some Ointment to put on his wound.

Tuesday 31st. Le Jeune Razeur asked me for Connor to go with him to La Grande River to hunt for his kettles that he cached Last autumn. Mr. Sayer gave to Nenbennoi a little Keg H. W. Undiluted that he made a present of to le Grand Razeur. As soon as it had been Opened and they Began to Drink In The house Smith arrived with Boisvert at one oclock in the afternoon. He had killed a deer that he put in the storeroom. Le Grand fou has killed nothing. The savages Asked me for Rum, Especially Les Razeurs, I told them I had none. they continued to tip up the Little Keg. This evening being more than half Drunk, indeed entirely so, the Elder of The Two Razeurs first Demanded a Drink of Rum from David who told them that there was not any. David had gone to Bed but he got up and told him to sit down in front of him that he wanted to talk to him. A moment afterwards Le Jeune Razeur Like an enraged creature Struck David, saying to him "Dog, thou sayest that thou hast no Rum." Such a disturbance took place, that I had to give le Grand fou notice who had told me that if the Razeurs or Others threatened or struck to send him word. This David did as soon as le Jeune Razeur was grappling with Smith who parried his Blow. The dispute was Soon ended. Le Grand fou told them that there was no Rum here. He had his Knife in his hand, and would have Stabbed Le Grand Razeur, if Boisvert had not hindered him. I did not understand what was said, but Thinking it would be Best I went Into the Store, drew out The Keg in which there may have been One Pint or a little more of H. W. unadulterated and showed it to them, having them told if I had not Given them any it was because

if I gave them such a small Quantity, they would believe that I was deceiving them, that it was all that I had, they could come in and Look In the store; they replied that I had some more elsewhere, but that I did not wish to give Them any, that it all belonged to them, that in the Spring they would have some plus, that they liked it as much as I liked it, my Rum. They then went out, and I did not see them until the following morning, when they came to Ask for ammunition and Tobacco that I Gave them.

February First. This morning The savages left, having gotten from Mr. Sayer a Keg of nine Gallons that they carried away to Their Lodges. On leaving le Grand Razeur Demanded from me the Rum that he had seen Last evening in his brother's cache. I gave it to him. Yesterday while the Two savages were Fighting a Big Axe was stolen that David had left at the doorway in a piece of wood when I called him to come To my help and separate them. He went out a minute after to Continue chopping wood and it could not be found. I had search made in The Lodges but could find no trace of it.

Thursday 2nd. Smith's oldest daughter has been ill for several Days. I gave her an emetic. At 10 o Clock This morning La Garde, Girard,[75] and The negro arrived at Mr. Sayer's fort.

Friday 3d. Boisvert gave me notice this morning that he would not go to the fond du Lac, without extra pay. I Asked him Why he Demanded at this time wages For that voyage, inasmuch as Last autumn he had gone without exacting any. He replied that he would do it in mild weather, but that he no longer was willing, and that he was not obliged to go for Nothing. Then I asked him How much he wanted as his account was settled; he went up to 63 lvs. for the Trip. I said that was too much, but that if he was willing I would speak either to Sir MacKenzie or to all those who would be at Grand Portage on business, that I would agree to pay him without having any fixed price, and added that he ought not to take advantage of

[75] A Joseph Girard was in 1804 a *voyageur* in the Fond du Lac district; see Masson, *Bourgeois*, i, p. 410.—Ed.

the moment when he believed that it was absolutely necessary for me to send there in order to get a Keg of Rum For the spring trade. He replied that he was satisfied and would Go, and prepared to leave with Connor. I gave each Two Pairs of Shoes and some provisions for the outward and return trip.

Saturday 4th. This morning David left to go and rejoin Les Razeurs. Since the savages, according to his report, took from him each time he went among them his ammunition, I again supplied him on his departure with Two chopines of Powder, a Demiard[76] of Lead, 30 Balls, and Two Brasses of tobacco, also a pair of Elk skin shoes. Lagarde, Girard, The negro, and 4 of Mr. Sayer's Men left For the river au serpent, Mr. Lacroix going with them. They took Rum and merchandise, and I understand are not to return until the end of the month or the beginning of the next. Provisions are as scarce with Mr. Sayer as at my house.

Sunday 5th. Boisvert and Connor left This morning for le fond du Lac. I wrote to Mr. Grignon to send me by them a Keg of 9 Gallons H. W., or at least if he could not do that to fill four Little Kegs that they would bring to him, three of a Gallon apiece and The other holding Two. I advised Boisvert to cache Them, not wishing to show them until The coming Spring at the trading Time. Smith went to pass the night with The savages.

Monday 6th. At 10 oClock This morning Smith arrived with The savages who have Much difficulty in getting near to the deer on account of the Ice which forms every night and hardens the snow, and yet is not sufficient To form a crust strong enough to cut the deer's Feet. He brought me a manichinse that he got from Pichiquequi, and a Female from le Grand fou. In his absence I had his daughter take some medicine and she finds herself Much better.

Tuesday, Wednesday 7 & 8. Today La prairie left with his

---

[76] The Canadian-French say *demiard*, instead of *demi-chopine* for half a pint. While the term *demiard* is common, *ard* is obsolete. Thanks for this information are due Col. Crawford Lindsay, of Quebec.—Ed.

wife, children, and the wife of Babeux (Smith sent his daughter with her), [and] Le vieux sarrasin For the lodge of Nenbennoi, they all are to rejoin The Band of *les razeurs* to make sugar with Them. The savages are discontented with Mr. Sayer, who will Not give Them a Keg of Rum, that he Owes them For the deer he has had.

Thursday 9th. The savages have gone to camp at the Grand Pakouyawin, Mr. Sayer having given Them The keg of Rum, 9 Gallons. At 5 o'Clock David arrived to get an emetic For le Grand Razeur, who is Very ill he says. The other savages do not hunt, these three Days past they have had nothing to eat and only a little today. In passing Nenbennoi's lodge he brought out a skin of Red deer, and a Beaver that he got of a widow for a Brasse of Cloth, to be put to the credit of le Grand Razeur. He got a lynx from another Woman For 8 bunches of Beads that I repaid him. The savages are fighting over the Liquor. Le petit noir was stabbed twice with a knife on his thigh by the women.

Friday 10th. At the break of Day David left, taking an emetic and a little ointment For le Jeune Razeur. I gave him two pints of wild rice not being able to spare him any more since there is but one fawn-skin left. He told me on leaving that if the savages were too Hungry he and Savoyard would come back to the house, that they had Fasted before this for several Days. I told them that I had no desire to Starve them, that they could come back if they chose, But they would stand a pretty good chance of Starving here, that My neighbor Mr. Sayer did his best To hinder The savages from giving me provisions, and that he could see what provisions I had left to give them. Le Petit Loup, Kaouinedache, Payedgigue, Le plat and La pierre affilée arrived and camped near the fort this afternoon; they asked me for some Rum. I told them I had none. They did not believe me saying they were thirsty. I did not know what to do, having nothing to Give them to Quench their thirst. I traded a 3 point blanket for a lynx, Four lynxes,[77]

[77] The French words are *loup cervier* and *chats*. The former is the Canadian lynx *(Lynx Canadensis)*, which is grayish, hoary, waved

and two muskrats. I sold my kettle [for] one bear skin, and received a Beaver. The savages went to see Mr. Sayer who gave them what satisfied them, and they went away to rejoin Le Beuf's Band.

Saturday 11th. They went back to the fort this morning and according to le Corbeau's report who came here they still have some Rum. The savages Drank from Yesterday Until Monday the 13th three Big Kegs which they got of Mr. Sayer.

Monday 14th. The Two Bands have United to go and make sugar together, and also for the Spring hunt. Le Corbeau went off alone, saying to Smith at his Departure that if he would go to his lodge after a while with some Rum, he would have some deer or bears that he would give him.

Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 15, 16, 17, 18. Smith with Babeux's aid stretched his nets under The Ice on Wednesday, Took in these Four Days Four Fish; today Smith having gone to visit them lifted the nets, nothing taken. The savages came to Mr. Sayer's fort to Demand of Him a Keg H. W. that he gave them after they told him that they had at Their Lodges Ten whole Deer.

Sunday 19th. This morning Babeux came to Ask Smith if he was willing for pay to help him bring The ten deer from the Lodges to the fort. Smith said yes. I Permitted this in the hope that Le Grand fou would have also killed some deer, that he would give him, and that he would bring it here rather than to Mr. Sayer's. They went off together coming back the same day with seven Haunches, Eight Shoulders, and five sides being all that there was at the Lodges. Le Grand fou had not hunted. Smith got for his pains one Haunch and two sides.

Monday 20th. Smith went this morning to the Lodges To get a fawn-skin of rice that a woman said he could have for a 2½ pt. blanket; he came back This afternoon. I resolved to give The blanket, having only one single fawn-skin of Parched

---

with black; the other is *Lynx rufus*, which is reddish, overlaid with grayish, also called by French-Canadian trappers *pichou*. Both occur in the northern part of Wisconsin; at present the latter is by far the more common.—Prof. George Wagner.

rice for all our provisions. I expect David, Savoyard and his wife every Day, who have suffered from Hunger a great deal at the Lodges. This month the fish do not bite, we do not take a single one In The nets. Three of Mr. Réaume's Men arrived at the fort, bringing nothing. The Sioux, according to their report, have not yet been to visit Mr. Réaume. The savages who hunt deer For him saw Far from his house foot prints of Six Men whom they thought to be Sioux and even heard Their gun shots.

Tuesday 21. Two of the Men left for the river au serpent whence they brought a Keg of H. W.; it snowed a Part of the Day.

Wednesday 22nd. Smith left this morning for the lodge of le *Corbeau*. I gave him a 2 Glls Keg of H. W. diluted To get some meat and some plus recommending to him to cache his Keg, before arriving at The lodge, in case The savage had killed nothing. At 4 o'Clock in the afternoon, he arrived bringing no meat. It had been too Long since he had been to the Lodge, The savage believing that he would not come to join his family ate The meat that he had on the scaffold. He brought a Big Beaver skin that he got from le Corbeau; a Big ditto, and an avola from Kaouinedache, who is going off to make sugar and for the spring hunt. He gave them for these few plus The Keg, being The remainder of the H. W. They told him to return thither In 4 or 5 Days.

Thursday, 23, Friday 24th. Yesterday The weather was very dark all Day, and threatened snow. I am very Uneasy about Boisvert and Connor. It is now nineteen Days since they left for the fond du Lac, expecting that it would take Twelve Days To make The trip. They carried one fawn-skin of rice almost full for provisions to the fond du Lac. I wish I could find some savages To send with Smith. I don't know what to Think, whether they are lost either going or returning. The trail Ought to be marked By the Men who came Last autumn to announce to Mr. Sayer The death of Mr. Laviolette. The former recommended them to make it Before sending Mr. Lacroix, In The Course of The Winter To take The place of the

Deceased. He however could not go as I have already noted, because of having Frozen one foot.

Saturday 25th. The snow continued all last night and all ToDay. This Morning The Weather being very Mild, although it is still snowing, Babeux with Brousseau[78] went to Stretch two nets under The Ice at Lake Jaune. They had not time to do it for while they were making The holes to pass a Line from the Bank under The ice, they perceived Four Men, who were coming toward them. They left their nets, Axes, and Line on the ice, and hurried to the fort to notify Mr. Sayer, who came at once to The House to warn me. He shut himself up in his fort. Smith and I prepared our guns to defend ourselves in case of attack, and if they proved to be Sioux. It was eleven o'Clock by Mr. Sayer's watch When Babeux arrived at the fort with the warning, At quarter past one No appearance of the Men, which made us think that they were Four Sioux spies. We fired several times both at the fort and the house to let them know we were notifying The Sauteux to come to our succor. Smith fortified the door of the house with three packs, in case they should try to force it and fire the Inside, we could thus move about with more security in The house, as these would arrest the Bullets.

Sunday 26th. All last night Smith and I watched expecting to be attacked at midnight or at daybreak This morning. The dogs Barked Much in Coming from the Side where the Forest lay. We heard no Sounds in the night and none this morning such as Sioux Spies are accustomed to make, either the cry of the Owl,[79] or the Wolf &c. This evening between 7 and 8 o Clock Smith lay down and went to sleep. I thought I heard the footstep of a Man move around the house and run back to

---

[78] Joseph Brousseau is listed in 1804 as a *voyageur* at La Pointe; see Masson, *Bourgeois*, i. p. 411. An employee of the same name went out with the Astorian party to the Columbia; see Coues, *Greater Light*, ii, p. 861.—Ed.

[79] The French original gives two words for owl, *hibou* and *chouette* —the former signifying the long-eared owl; and the latter, the common brown owl.—Ed.

the Forest. Having called Smith who woke and got up, he kept up the fire all night in The fireplace. We heard nothing the rest of the night. Snow fell Part of the Day and the night.

Monday 27th. This morning I went out with Smith to see if I could find any Footprints. I saw none. I was not asleep Last night when I heard the sound of footsteps. I could Well distinguish it from those of a dog, and am certain it was The step of a Man, the Sound that he made on the snow especially in stepping as Lightly as he could. Imprudently and without Mr. Sayer's knowledge, Babeux and Brousseau went to Lake Jaune to see if they could find what they had Left there day before Yesterday. They found the two nets in another place, Carried quite Far, The Axe had been carried off, and a Bundle of net lines rolled into a Ball hung from a Pole. Seeing no Footprints, they Picked up one net which was in the water and Set The two they found.

Mr. Sayer had offered me a place in his fort sometime before, I then refused having expected every moment to see Boisvert and Connor. This morning as soon as his Men arrived at the fort I went to see Him to inquire if they had seen anyone. They reported what I have already mentioned. He made me The same proposition, which I accepted. What made me decide was that Smith Said it would have to be a Big Noise to hinder Him from Sleeping Tonight; and moreover, I planned To send Him to the fond du Lac, if I could find a savage who would be willing to go with him for pay, in order to get news of Boisvert and Connor. I do not try to make excuses for this step. If I could have built a fort Last autumn [it would not have been necessary], but I could not, my Men were unwilling, making the objection that proper Wood was too Far, and that three Men were not enough to build a fort. I had At the time only David, Savoyard and Connor—Smith and Boisvert not yet having Returned from The river au serpent. I fear I was too Ready to listen to them; in Ordering them Perhaps with more severity than I did I might have succeeded in getting a fort built. Too much Kindness with certain Men will never succeed in getting anything done, While on the other hand with

too much Harshness, one only Repels them, and that causes Disputes and Quarrels that one often does not mean to evoke. I admit here that I have Never taken charge under Such circumstances, and that I did not Imagine before this Winter encampment how important it is to have much Resolution in managing Men, Particularly in all things that concern their Duties. If Boisvert and Connor or the other two had been at the house Mr. Sayer would Never have seen me in his fort, with the little merchandise I had left and The Peltry. Neither would he, if it had not been for The fear of the Enemy who might at any moment attack us (we not Knowing Their number); and The apprehension that Smith, who is very obstinate When he Says a thing, would not fail to carry out his threat. I put my life and his in safety as well as The goods and peltries that afternoon when we entered into the fort. Mr. Sayer Gave me his house in which I lived alone with the pack etc. Smith stayed with Babeux and Brousseau, and Mr. Sayer retired with his wife and children into the house of La prairie.

Tuesday, 28th. It was very cold all Last night, we have not had so Great a cold snap this Winter. Nothing extraordinary relative to The enemy.

Wednesday 29th. The cold has much Increased; we have heard nothing nor seen any sign to make us believe that The enemy is near us.

March First.

Thursday. I Asked Smith Yesterday evening if he was willing to go to the Lodge today To get Some meat, Pichiquequi who came to the fort Yesterday afternoon having told Mr. Sayer that there was some at his Lodge and that of the other savages. The savages had Told him (Smith) that as soon as they killed a deer that they would give it to him, if he would come after it at the Lodges. that they would not Bring it to him because he had no Rum to Give Them, only that would induce them to bring Their meat to the fort, or [they said] they would only come once more to give him some. Therefore he came this morning to Ask me for a little Parched rice for his Breakfast, also two green deer

skins to have dressed. I Asked him if he would stay a day or two To wait until they were done and also until the savages had killed a deer, fearing that they would have eaten that they had scaffolded Before Making a fort to guard against surprise, since we had informed them that The enemy had appeared here. "You do not then fear them here any longer," Said he to me. "No," I replied "if I had been as Well assured of safety In The house, I would have stayed." "I am afraid To go to the Lodges today." "If you are afraid, Smith, do not go, wait for a more favorable time. If I had known that, I would Indeed have stayed at the house." He went out presently and carried off The Two Skins, not more than a quarter of an Hour later he brought Them back, saying that he would not go today. One Hour afterwards he came to Ask me for one Of the skins, that he would dress. About two oClock in the afternoon seven savages arrived at the fort, Pichiquequi, Kitchinimiscoutte, Kichekimanne, Ouaganné, Munigance, Payedgigue, and the son of la petitte Rivière. They brought five deer For which Mr. Sayer gave Them a 9 Gallon Keg H. W. I had them Asked if Two of them would go to fond du Lac, that I would give them a Brasse of Cloth, a blanket and a Pair of leggins. No one was willing, saying it was Time to Work on their plus. The savages reproached Smith for not having gone to Their Lodges, saying that they would have given him some meat, that they had told him to come within 4 or 5 Days. I told him to leave Tomorrow morning For le Corbeau's lodge, he tried to make some objections such as who will Bring Wood for you? etc. I told him to be quiet, and to get ready to stay for a day or two in case there was no meat at The Lodge.

At 4 O Clock Le Jeune Razeur, one of his wives, Ouaisza and The wife Of Babeux arrived at the fort, an Instant after Sarasin and the son of la prairie, came after provisions. The savages and The French were very Hungry. The Savages came to get Some Ammunition, one of them Ouaisza, asked for a gun, his own having broken off a foot from the breech. The others mentioned Above Left For their Lodges, not caring very much to share their Keg with The new comers. Mr. Sayer would not

Allow Them to Drink In The fort, fearing too much that the Sioux enemy might appear any moment, now that there were new trails Beaten down on the snow that had fallen during the last three Days. Le Razeur Teased Mr. Sayer and me a Long time for Some Rum. I had none, Mr. Sayer did not wish to give him any Until he went away.

Friday 2nd. Smith left This morning for Corbeau's lodge. Sarasin and The son of La prairie To rejoin The savages with Some provisions. I Asked to have David come and stay Here, Until Boisvert and Connor return from fond du Lac; if Sarrasin was willing to take charge of a little wild rice, I would send him some. Mr. Sayer's Men arrived after Dinner today with 20 pieces of dried meat, the remains of 41 Deer that the savages of the river au serpent had killed. The rest had been Consumed at Mr. Réaume's. With them came The son of le male, Ouabigue, with one of his brothers, Whom Mr. Sayer Sent off after having given Him a Little Keg of Rum, for The river au Serpent. He feared that Messiganne who left the Moment after his arrival For The Lodge of Pichiquequi had gone with The design of notifying The other savages to come and kill Him In The night. This savage was so Fearful that Ouabigue would kill him if he saw him that he Asked Mr. Sayer for His Pistols to Defend Himself, who refused him. He did not even dare to enter Into The house to take his own shoes that he wished his wife to get, and left on a path For the Lodge, Saying that he would return at sunset. He came back In the night with Pichiquequi, who came as he told Mr. Sayer To talk with Ouabigue, and persuade him to forget The past, that the blow that had been given him Last autumn had occurred when they were all drunk, and that it would be Very Sad For them if he were killed Since they were both young; and that he was not to listen to the talk of the other savages.

Saturday 3d. Messiganne, Ouaiza, and The wife of Babeux left For Their Lodges. The first of these was not satisfied with Mr. Sayer, who scarcely gave him anything to eat and did not wish to give Him The Rum he had promised To Carry off. Mr. Sayer kept his Men from Setting Their kettles over the fire,

Thinking that this savage would Leave quicker if he saw no preparations For Cooking rice or meat. He Left rather late, and as he went off, his horn full of powder was stolen from him.

Sunday 4. Smith arrived at one Oclock this afternoon with 3 Men that Mr. Sayer had sent off This morning For Corbeau's lodge, in order to take away *His* traps and skinning knives, in case Corbeau should give any plus to Smith, Thus when Mr. Sayer knew that I had any designs in that quarter, he also showed his hand. He Told me that I had profited by a Favorable moment. I replied that I had, and that I hoped to profit by Many others, with more success than I obtained on this occasion. Smith brought a lynx and Two haunches of a manichinse. The savages not having killed anything were very Hungry. David came at 4 Oclock. He had not received The rice that I sent him by Babeux's wife.

Monday 5. I gave David a 3 pt Blanket For a lynx and Two Fishers, the lynx was received The 30 of January. This evening The Sioux Spies came to listen and prowl around the fort. We saw Tuesday 6, Their tracks, they came from the side of Lake Jaune. Smith and David went This morning to set a net under The Ice at the pakouiawin ¼ of a League from the fort. David told us that he heard Sunday After he came back more than 40 gun shots in the direction of Lake La Coquille.

Wednesday 7, Smith visited The net this morning and brought one Carp. I changed my Dwelling today. Mr. Sayer has taken his house again, I am in that of Laprairie. The Weather is very mild although cloudy. Snow Grows much less, if it continues like this Until the 20th, I shall Leave The fort and go and camp on the lower part of The river and there make a Weir.

Thursday 8th. Smith went to Pichiquequi's lodge To try and get some deer, coming back at 4 Oclock. The savages have not killed anything, he found them all playing au plat. He brought a Fisher that Le petit Loup Gave him on account.

Friday 9. Mr. Sayer sent his wife this morning to the Savages' lodges to make sugar. 4 Men went with her to carry her Baggage and provisions. Smith visited his net, and there being

nothing in it took it up. David gave Babeux a 3 pt. blanket For Cutting two Cords of Wood for him.

Saturday 10. Smith went this morning to set two nets under The ice at Lake Jaune. Mr. Sayer's Men came back at 10 Oclock bringing nothing from the Lodges. The savages there are Fasting.

Sunday 11. This morning Smith and David went to look at the nets, they had taken nothing. Mr. Sayer proposed to his Men to Diminish Their rations by a half; they were very unwilling to Consent, Saying that while there was anything left they preferred to have a whole ration of It, and that when there was no longer Anything they would resign themselves, that The rice had been considerably Wasted all The Winter, that they were not willing at present to deprive themselves of a single meal, that they ought to have had the provisions that La prairie had consumed with his family, without even being satisfied with what he had eaten Since after each meal, he no sooner entered his house than he ate again, Either rice that had been Parched, or meat that he found In his wife's kettle, While they had had merely their Day's rations, that were not increased, and that now on the contrary he wished to Decrease. N. B. he has no more than one fawn-skin Of rice left To supply 6 Men, and Two clerks (Lacroix and La Garde). At half past 10 Oclock Two Of Mr. Réaume's Men arrived at the fort, with a Letter that they gave to Mr. Sayer.

Monday 12th. The two Men From Mr. Réaume Left this morning, they took away Nothing. Smith went to visit The nets, Nothing caught. According to The report that The Two Men gave, The savages of The river au serpent have wanted To kill, because of Hunger, Girard and Dauphiné.[80]

Tuesday, Wednesday 13 & 14. Nothing extraordinary in These Two Days. Caught 5 fish Yesterday, 3 today.

Thursday 15, visited the nets, Nothing Taken. Mr. Lacroix in looking in Laprairie's box For a piece of soap that he

[80] François Dauphiné was enrolled in 1804 as a *voyageur* of the North West Company.—Ed.

had permission To take, found therein 4 lbs. of Twine for nets and a package of Holland Thread; not finding the soap, he searched The sacks of the latter's wife. He did not find what he was looking for, on the contrary he found, belonging to the store one 2½ pt. Blanket, 2 Brasses H. B. Cloth, and one Brasse of Common Cloth, one Pair of scarlet leggings. N. B. I should not have put this in my Journal, if Mr. Sayer had not assured me that he was certain that La prairie did not have these articles, having sold him some, when he left to go and stay with The savages.

Friday 16. Nothing caught in The nets. Since I came into the fort I have noticed that Mr. Sayer is Very fond of Drink, there has been Scarcely a night, that he has not gone to bed Drunk, but I should Never have Believed that he would be fond enough thereof To Drink the Savages' Rum, but he Himself drew from a Keg that is under Mr. Lacroix's bed While we were eating supper in his house; and brought it in there, hiding The Pot under His Little Boy's Hat. I saw him put it in a corner.

Saturday 17th. Visited The nets this morning two Little Poissons Dorés caught. Mr. Lacroix having been notified Yesterday evening By the negro, that Mr. Sayer had taken Rum from The Keg Asked Him if it was He who had drawn the Rum, as he perceived this morning that The Keg Floated. The former was a little surprised at The Question, Muttering in reply yes, but that it was only to Taste It, and that he had Thrown The rest on the fire, that His negro in drawing it, had Allowed a Demiard to run on the ground. I could not help but Laugh, glancing at Mr. Lacroix, who had said a Moment before that Mr. Sayer had already Tasted it when diluting It; and I replying that if he should ask him before me, Mr. Sayer would say just what he did say. Nothing more was done about it. Mr. Lacroix told me that he was going to put It with [the account] of La prairie's doings in his Journal. I urged him strongly to do so. At half past seven Oclock Le viel sarrasin arrived at the fort with a savage, bringing Nothing. He came

to get some provisions, the savages having killed nothing and Fasting Much.

N. B. It is unfortunate For me that my First Wintering I should have fallen among Men of whom I have only Complaints to Make, in place of entering more Interesting things in my Journal. Smith after hearing from Le viel Sarrasin of the Great scarcity that he was enduring came to tell me that he Was going Tomorrow morning to the Lodges to bring away his daughter, that if they must die, it was better that she should die with Him. I told him that she must Run the Risk of Dying here, that I had no more rice than would last Tomorrow and the day After, that he caught Very few fish for us to live on. "Since you have still some rice Give me my ration for Tomorrow and I will take it with me," he replied. I did not wish to give it to him, telling him again that I was afraid of Fasting too much, that I would be in want also during his absence, that I could not live on air for that time, since David was going to the other Lodges Tomorrow, Perhaps to be likewise absent two Days. "Since you are so fond of your rice, go to H—— with it," he shouted, rushing out of the door, "You will see that you have Not to deal with a Savoyard." Any other person, in my place, would not have been so calm. I am not afraid of Smith, and I have not Much Time to bother with Him. I have Promised, even taken an Oath, that I will not come back to this Post here with Men who only want Their own way, and that at every moment threaten to come to blows. I was not brought up on Blows, and I will not commence now to Command by threatening to strike, or even to Fight whoever it may be. A Plot has been formed to attack The Packs as soon as the provisions are gone. I have also promised myself, that not one Skin shall go before I have Defended it to the Best of my ability, and Until it is beyond my Power to do more.

Sunday 18th. This morning Smith Left with Mr. Sayer's Men Lacroix, Sarrasin, Brousseau, Trudelle, and the savage. They took three Kegs of a Gallon apiece of Pure H. W. and one of diluted that Mr. Sayer gave to the savage on his de-

parture. Also some cloth blankets, Lead and powder that he had Asked from La prairie, with the remains of a fawn-skin of rice, saying that it belonged to him, and a Little Fat. David went with La Garde, The negro, and *manitou* to The lodge of Pichiquequi To get the Baggage of Mr. Sayer's wife, whom he had had Come back here, Fearing that she Would Starve with The savages. David is to bring a Deer skin that Smith gave to Pichiquequi's wife to be dressed. Mr. Sayer's wife with one of his children arrived at 2 Oclock in the afternoon to stay here. The savages have not yet begun to make sugar. I visited The nets with Mr. Sayer, having Asked one of his Men to come with me, who refused. We went to only one net as it was too late to visit The other. Caught Two Pike. Beautiful Day, The snow has Greatly Decreased.

Monday 19. At eleven Oclock this morning David came back with Mr. Sayer's Men, bringing from the Lodges only his wife's Belongings. David brought The deer skin, and says that Kichekimanne Asked Him to go and prepare the plus with Him. I can not send Him, For I apprehend that Smith will carry out what he told Mr. Sayer's Men, namely that he would not give me any fish, that he would Himself make up The packs and that I would be obliged to get some somewhere else. I kept this from David, who gave me the message this morning when he arrived. About two Oclock in the afternoon Kinongense, his son, Corbeau's son, and another Little savage arrived at the fort, they brought Four Beaver Skins, and a bear cub skin that they gave to Mr. Sayer. Kinongense wished to take David back to stay with Him This Spring, To aid him in working The plus. I am very annoyed not to be able to send Him with this savage. He is one of the best Beaver hunters in this locality, rarely hunts for deer, he told David to come to his Lodge with some Rum as soon as navigation opened and to Tell Smith that he would find him at the same place he was Last Autumn at The River a La Chaudiere [Kettle River].

Tuesday 20th. This morning The savages Went away. La Garde, The negro, and manitou left with them. They carried off a Half Keg of mixed Rum and Some ammunition.

Mr. Sayer gave to Kinongense a Two Gallon Keg of mixed Rum. His Men go to meet the savages of The river au serpent. David visited The nets and brought Two Pike and two carp. About 5 O clock in the afternoon, Smith came with his daughter and Babeux's wife. He reports that the Savages are Fasting a great deal, and that they are going To stay out all night to kill deer. David went to stretch a net with one of Mr. Sayer's Men, he caught In The other Four Carp and two Pike. Between 6 and 7 Oclock This evening a Man with a savage arrived at the fort bringing Letters from Mr. Letang of the Lake La Sangsue[81] and from Mr. Grant of the Lake des Sables.[82] I learned from them that Boisvert and Connor have been at fond du lac Since The 10 or 11 of february, that they have not dared to risk coming back alone, not finding a guide, and that Mr. Grignon had not enough provisions For himself and his Men and could not give Them any for the trip, that he himself was short of Merchandise and especially of Rum.

Wednesday 21st. This morning Mr. Sayer told me that I might write to Mr. Grignon By the savage and his Man from fond du Lac, To Ask Him to send me my Men. I told him I should be glad to do so and would even send David with them, who would Mark The trail on going so that they could find it

---

[81] For this trader see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 192, note 73; in addition see several references to him in Perrault's "Narrative" in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, xxxvii. He was working with Sayer in 1794, and in opposition after 1796, and most of the time was stationed at Leech Lake (La Sangsue).—Ed.

[82] Peter Grant of Sandy Lake (des Sables) was a partner in the North West Company. Born in 1764 he entered the corporation as a clerk at the age of twenty years, and in 1791 was promoted to a partnership. His earlier stations were at Rainy Lake and the Red River, but about 1802 he was assigned to the Sandy Lake post of the Mississippi. He was there in the winter of 1805–06, and extended hospitalities to Lieut. Z. M. Pike on the latter's expedition to the source of the Mississippi; see Elliott Coues, *Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike* (N. Y., 1895), i, *passim*. Grant retired from the fur-trade and settled at Lachine, where he died in 1848. For his work on the Sauteur (Chippewa) Indians, see Masson, *Bourgeois*, ii, pp. 307–366.—Ed.

coming back, also that Mr. Grignon not having what I needed, they Might bring what Mr. Lacroix should Give Them for him, Chiefly Letters from Arabaska[83], that he awaited impatiently. Mr. Lacroix had to go away with them, to replace Mr. Laviolette Until Mr. Sayer's return, who was to go from here as soon as navigation opened. If that gentleman [Sayer] had known that David was to go as far as the Grand portage, he would not have Allowed him to leave with his Guide, carrying a Letter for Mr. Grignon and another in the same envelope addressed to Mr. Bethune[84] or any other clerk staying at the post of the Grand Portage. In this I Asked for Cloth, Blankets, braid, Lead and Balls, Two Kegs H. W. and some provisions in order to leave Two Men that I will allow to remain inland. For I am persuaded That those that stay For The North west [Company] will do all they Possibly can to

---

[83] Athabasca was a department of the North West Company, embracing posts on the lake of that name, on Great Slave Lake, and in the regions beyond. It was spoken of as the "far famed Athabasca," and appears to have been the most profitable region for the fur-trade in the Northwest. Peter Pond was the first trader to adventure therein, having in 1778 founded a post on the Athabasca River. Eight years later the Slave Lake post was erected and in 1788–89 Fort Chippewyan became headquarters for the district. The distance from Montreal was so great that goods and supplies only reached the Athabasca the second year after leaving the company's home city. Each mid-winter, generally about January 1, an express was sent from Athabasca with letters from the partners at the posts. It was these that Mr. Sayer was eager to receive, the wintering partners in the Athabasca usually being the company's principal *bourgeois*.—Ed.

[84] Angus Bethune appears to have been at this time clerk for the X Y Company in charge of headquarters at Grand Portage. After the coalition he was, in 1804–05, stationed in the lower Red River department, and in 1810 was out on the Saskatchewan with Alexander Henry. In 1813 Bethune accompanied John George McTavish overland to the Pacific, arriving in Astoria in the autumn. He spent three years and a half on the Pacific coast, part of the time in charge at Fort George (formerly Astoria). In April, 1817, he accompanied the brigade that left for Fort William. Later Bethune returned to the Oregon territory and went out to China as supercargo in a North West Company's vessel.—Ed.

Hinder The savages from hunting and even from giving provisions to those that I mean to leave. Towards nine O clock this morning Savoyard, his wife and child arrived, an Instant afterwards Mr. Lacroix with his Men. He brought a very Pretty pack of Assorted Peltries that he had traded for with Le petit rocher, and some savages of the Lake Courtte Oreille, so Savoyard told me. These savages do not Owe me anything. Smith and David visited The nets, they brought fourteen Fish. Savoyard tells me that he sold a Kettle that I lent him when he went off with his wife to The Lodges, in order to get provisions. He brought back a Small Axe, also a gimlet that I lent him. He has The Axe that was stolen The Second of February while the savages were Drinking at The house, David having found It on returning to the Lodges on Lake Jaune.

Thursday 22nd. David & Smith went this morning to visit The nets caught Seven Fish. I gave David Two Pair of deerskin shoes and Four pints of the remaining Rice For his journey. About 5 Oclock La Garde and The two Others arrived, they brought 13 Beaver and Seven bear Skins. If I had had any Rum I would have sent some also, Le Brochet having Asked me for some as he Went off, not being Satisfied with what Mr. Sayer gave him.

Friday 23. This morning David left with Mr. Lacroix and The Guide For the fond Du lac. Mr. Sayer Asked me how many Days I thought it would take for him to return. I replied that it would be Twelve to 15 Days since he would Perhaps be obliged to wait until there were enough fish at Mr. Grignon's so that he might give him some Dried. Savoiard and David [sic] visited The nets Caught Three Pike and two Carp that I had them Leave and return again this evening, they brought one Pike and one carp.

Saturday 24th. Savoyard and Smith visited The nets this morning took 21 Fish and this evening 5.

Sunday 25th. Caught today in The nets 24 fish.

Monday 26th. Caught this Day in The nets 24 fish, Savoyard went hunting, and killed a Wild Goose, that he kept himself.

Tuesday 27th. Mr. Sayer sent Yesterday with Kitchinimiscoutte, & Payedgigue who brought him a Mocock[85] of about 30 lbs. of sugar, two of his men and a 3 Gallon Keg of Pure H. W. The Men came back this afternoon with two Bear Skins and a Beaver skin. If I had had the Rum that The Savages Asked of me, I should have sent Smith or Savoyard with them. His wife (Savoiard's) went to the Lodges to make sugar with her sister. Ataouabe came to the fort with them bringing nothing but about Two Livres of sugar that he Gave me.

Wednesday 28th. The savage left this morning For his Lodge. Smith and Savoyard went to the nets, Six fish caught. I gave the savage a Brasse of Tobacco as he left. Mr. Sayer has had his packs pressed to the number of 21 of which 6 are Beaver. I proposed to Smith and Savoyard to help the Men make the Corners and the Bars for the press; they were not willing. I asked Mr. Sayer if I might use it When his Men were through to have mine Pressed. I have 9 of which 3 are Beaver. If your Men will help work The press, he told me, you may have the use of it.

Thursday 29. Took in The nets today 28 fish. Smith and Savoyard are in a Lodge in front of the fort Since the latter's arrival. They Asked Mr. Sayer's Permission to place Their Tents within The fort, which he accorded. I made the Request For them, his response was "Let the Men Ask me themselves." I went this evening to their Lodge before going to Bed and told Savoyard to dry some fish In order to go out, since I had no salt to put them down, nor even a possibility of getting any from Mr. Sayer, who Guards The little that he has left For salting his own provisions and giving some to La prairie. The latter is to stay Inland with his family and One Man. "I dont Need to dry any Fish, It is not Good enough to eat without Fat that you have not Given us. I prefer to eat *La pituelle*[86] and if that does not sustain me sufficiently I will

[85] For this utensil see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, p. 232, note 40.—Ed.

[86] The term *la pituelle* is probably some local word, or one wrongly spelled. Were it farther north it might mean *tripe de roche*, a lichen

eat the Skins of the Packs as long as there are any." This threat of eating the Skins is so often repeated that I really fear Smith and he will carry it out as soon as I am alone with them. However, I declare that the First one who Touches The packs to get The skins To eat will remain upon them or The pistol will not have done its work. I tried to make some reply to The threat. "Be quiet" Said Savoyard to me, "you have no Right to Speak." If I had thought that they would Doubt my word,[87] I could name here The Witnesses who without my Knowing it heard The Conversation that I had with Them. Far from me were Such Thoughts. I should insult The persons who had Confidence in me, and deserve to lose it Entirely.

Friday 30th. Took today in The nets 18 fish. Savoyard went hunting and killed a Wild Goose that he and Smith with his children ate. I warned Savoyard on his return not to absent himself Tomorrow, that I had permission to use The Press and to notify Smith to go to the nets alone.

Saturday 31st. I went forth This morning From Mr. Sayer's fort with The packs etc. I put up my Tent, Smith and Savoyard put up Theirs. The Packs are between The two, before taking The packs from the fort I wished to have Them Pressed, they were unwilling to do it, saying it was not necessary. I pointed out The necessity in case The canoe should Break in running The rapids of The river Jaune. "For that very reason," said Savoyard "as we would have to Take them apart to dry them, we are not willing to press Them. When we are on The Grande River we shall not Need any press, we will Press Them Well, and just as Well without using this press."

---

often eaten by starving *voyageurs;* but were this so, Curot would probably have used the latter expression. If they had meal or flour, it might mean the very last of it mixed with water.—Col. Crawford Lindsay.

[87] In his expression "that they would doubt my word," Curot is referring to the proprietors of the company for whom the journal was prepared, not to the insubordinate menials. This slight touch would seem to show that he did not "make good" with the company officials when his report was handed in.—Ed.

I am in Despair with these Two Men. I don't know what to do. I cannot Speak to them without their replying like Men who wish to see me—I do not know where—I would give a good deal to have here The other three men by whose means I might Perhaps succeed in getting done what I wish for The profit of The Company. I cannot count on these men for anything, and I distrust them as I would my Greatest Enemies.

Easter April 1st.

They visited The nets this morning, they caught a Dozen Fish, that I Left for them, Mr. Sayer having Asked me to Breakfast with Him.

Monday 2nd. Towards 10 Oclock this morning we Left our Winter quarters to go and camp at The Grande River, at the same Place, where I camped Last Autumn. Mr. Sayer left in a Light Canoe with his family and three Men one Hour before we did and Camped a little Farther up than we. I left above the rapids of the river Jaune, half of the Loading of the Canoe, The water being too Low to run them [the rapids] with the full load. We even Broke our Canoe In a little Rapid on Leaving the winter quarters. Smith and Savoyard ran The Canoe down, while I made the portage.

Tuesday 3. Mr. Sayer Left this morning For The river au serpent. We have had rain, snow, and Hail; The night was Very Cold.

Wednesday 4. Smith & Savoyard went this morning to get The Half load, not having been able to do it Yesterday on account of the bad Weather. Savoyard killed Two wild Geese, going up The rapids.

Thursday 5. A Half a foot of snow Fell Last night, The Weather has been Cloudy all Day, but not Cold.

Friday 6. Smith and Savoyard The Weather having become fine, went this morning To try to make a fish weir In The rapids. They did not succeed, as The water was Much Higher and Carried away Their Work, also The stores and Wood that they had amassed as fast as they built it. I am not Sorry that they have had a little Difficulty Since a long time ago I had

proposed to them To Descend, and they refused, Saying that they wished to make The weir in Question first and Descend afterwards if the fish Gave out. I called their attention to this Last Sunday, when they Asked me to leave, and they replied that it was not yet necessary, that they were sure of Success.

Saturday 7. This morning I sent Savoyard to the Lodges to get Some Gum and Sugar. I gave him Two Brasses of Cloth to pay for them. He came back This afternoon with Two Young Savages who told him that Mr. Sayer in Passing had sent to the Lodges, and that he had gotten For Rum The Gum and The plus there were there. I sent him back with The two savages, and a Brasse of Cloth To Engage The Women To make some Gum, which I absolutely must have, not being able to use any Canoe that did not at once Fill. Smith went to try for his part and make a weir in a little stream, where he succeeded; he came back this evening with 4 Ducks. Laprairie came to-day to Camp a little Above us with The Men that Mr. Sayer had Left at the fort To Guard his Belongings, having sent several Days ago to look for Laprairie who was at La Meckaganne[88] with his family, at the Savages' Lodges.

Sunday 8th. Smith went to see his weir, No fish; he went to hunt and killed 4 Ducks. Laprairie Departed this morning to go and rejoin his wife; he Left 4 Men to take charge of the Goods; he broke a Canoe in running The rapids. These Men are waiting for Mr. Sayer To get Some Gum and another Canoe To go and Camp Higher up at The weir.

Monday 9. Smith visited The weir, Nothing therein. Savoyard arrived This evening with his Wife, he sold the Brasse of Cloth for a beaver and an otter. The savages are coming to Camp on the Grande River.

Tuesday 10. This morning Pichiquequi arrived with three other savages to bury his child who died yesterday morning. I had from Manigance a Beaver Skin on account of his Credit.

---

[88] For this site see *ante*, p. 408, note 38.—Ed.

Smith went to visit his weir, took one Carp Therein. I got one Beaver skin For a pair of Cloth leggins.

Wednesday 11. Smith went this morning with Babeux to put two Nets in The water at the Pakouyawin In The river Jaune Above the rapids,[89] he has to pass the night there. Yesterday after Dinner Le Beuf Asked me for Rum. I Told him that I had none here, that The little that remained had been put in cache By Savoyard at The Meckaganne Last Autumn, he Asked me if I would send and get It, he agreed that one of his Young Men should go with Savoyard and that he would lend me his Canoe, Mine not being Fit To make The voyage, having no Gum to repair it. I Then Asked Savoyard if he would go, and he said no, that I had no provisions to Give Him, and that he could not go three Days without eating, adding also that The Plus that the savages wished to trade For would Probably be carried off By Mr. Sayer, that His Men were waiting all These Days, and that I would be obliged then to Give the Rum without Return. He went to find Smith at the Pakouyawin and brought 9 fish that Babeux gave Him, one Duck that he killed.

Thursday 12. Smith arrived this morning with 48 fish. Rain began to Fall about 10 Oclock this evening.

Friday 13th. This morning Smith Left For The Lodges with one of Mr. Sayer's Men and Savoyard went to visit The nets with another man. He brought 20 Fish. Towards noon Smith came back with three savages, who all came to camp near here. He brought Four Beaver Skin for one of which I paid; an Otter, and 3 lynx also paid for in Merchandise, a Fisher that I received from L'otonaganne on account for Tobacco. All Pichiquequi's Band arrived this afternoon, asking

---

[89] For the use of this term on the Brulé see *ante*, p. 405, note 31. It would seem to indicate a strip of dead water, although John La Rock interprets it is "a swift fall of water." One of our correspondents suggests that it may refer in this case to Little Yellow Lake, a kind of backwater or bayou connected with Yellow Lake by the thoroughfare. See *ante*, p. 413, note 51.—Ed.

me Incessantly for Rum, and Impatiently waiting for Mr. Sayer in order to have some.

Saturday 14th. Smith went this morning to visit The nets, Savoyard to hunt. I got from *le vieux Sourd* a Beaver Skin For ½ a Brasse of Calico. He has still some Plus which he wishes to trade For Rum, Having offered Him Merchandise for them he refused. Took 17 Fish, Savoyard killed a Crane and three Ducks. I gave Two Deer Skins to be Dressed and Smoked to La Petitte Riviere, one before Makes Three Skins Taken from Pack No. 5.

Sunday 15th. Monday 16. Yesterday Smith visited The nets and took 6 fish. He gave me on account 2 muskrat skins. Today Savoyard went to get The Little Canoe that Smith Left Last Autumn opposite The wintering houses. Savoyard came back this afternoon without bringing The Canoe, The wind was too strong to permit him to ascend to the Encampment alone. I paid La Petitte Riviere for dressing the 3 deer skins Two Pairs of Cloth leggings. She is to make me Some Gum For one pair. *Pichinani* went deer hunting this morning, and returned a Moment after Leaving, having seen a Strange savage that he thought was a Sioux. Savoyard reports that the dog that is Accustomed to follow him did not Leave him to Run as usual In the Woods after some Wild Beast. On the contrary he went ahead a little way in the Forest and returned quickly to Him Yelping and looking in the direction he had Left. Smith brought 8 fish.

Tuesday 17. Smith being ill today, Savoyard went to visit The nets, 16 fish were Taken in them. This afternoon Laprairie arrived with his wife at the Encampment. He brought nothing but his Personal Belongings.

Wednesday 18th. Smith visited The weir today, that he had neglected since The eleventh of the month. Nothing therein. Laprairie sent off this morning his Boy and one Man in the Direction of Lake Jaune. I don't know why, there being no savages in that Region. Savoyard went to visit The nets and brought 6 fish. He had a Scare, as he went alone, thinking he heard some one Behind Him Making Cries of Joy.

Laprairie's men went to Stretch their nets at Lake Jaune, so Savoyard reports.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, 19th, 20th, 21st. Took during these three Days 29 fish in The nets. I traded One Brasse of Cloth For an Otter. The Savage not wishing to give it to me on account of his credit or to give me more, threatened to carry it to Laprairie.

Sunday 22nd. Took today 7 Fish. I sold a tin Basin for a dozen muskrats. I got a lynx skin and two rats for a few beads. Day very Warm.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday 23, 24, 25. Took in The nets these Days 18 fish. Smith went Monday to get The canoe that he brought in after dinner. Smith and Savoyard speared 9 fish Wednesday.

Thursday, Friday, 26, 27. Yesterday 20 fish were taken in The nets one Sturgeon ond one Barbue[90] that Smith speared in The rapids of the river Jaune. The rain having Begun to fall Yesterday evening, Continued to fall all night and Day, so they did not visit the nets. I traded two Beaver Skins for 5 prs. of Ear Pendants and 12 Crosses.

Saturday, 28. This morning La prairie left with The Men and his packs, To go and Camp at La Meckaganne. This afternoon Mr. Sayer passed without stopping. A Moment after Mr. Reaume and his Men passed; they went to try and rejoin Laprairie. Mr. Reaume has three Canoes. Le mâle and his family followed Them. He is one who was stabbed with a Knife Last Autumn; he killed some days before leaving La vielle *Siouse* his Aunt. The savages say and believe that he also killed his wife Last winter. Caught in The nets and speared 24 Fish.

Sunday, 29th. I got from pichiqueki 4 Beaver Skins. In

[90] Curot was here speaking of a fish with beards or barbs, so he must have meant either a bullhead or a catfish, the only ones of our Wisconsin fauna so equipped; he may have meant anyone of five or six species, between which he would probably not have discriminated.—Prof. George Wagner.

order to get them I was obliged to make him some more advances, as appears on the book of Credits to the Savages.

Monday 30th. Kichekimanne gave me a haunch and a side of deer. Smith Speared 20 fish and brought back the nets.

May

Tuesday 1st. This morning Messrs. Sayer and Réaume passed by in a light Canoe with 4 Men. They went to the river a La Chaudière to find *Kinongense,* they carried a 9 Gallon Keg of H. W. Pichiqueki received this morning The Chief's coat and The Keg that Mr. Sayer had promised him Last autumn. I got from la petitte Riviere some Gum in exchange for a 3 point Blanket. The wind which was very strong today and the rain Hindered Smith from going to spear Fish.

Wednesday 2nd. Yesterday evening two savages Wounded one another; Le Grand fou received two Knife blows, one on The shoulder, and The other on The Thigh. La pierre affilee received At the hands of the former a blow a little below the Hip. I should not be surprised if at the next Drinking bout, these two savages killed one another. If Kitchinimiscoutte had not hidden himself he would have been slain by Payedgigue who hunted for him a Long time To kill him. The Quarrel is caused By the women who ordinarily Begin It and The Men in a Cowardly way rush between them with Their knife Blows, this is especially the case among This Band.

Thursday 3d. I was misinformed Yesterday concerning the savages. Savoyard's wife who was at the Lodges reported that La pièrre affilee had been Stabbed By *Le Beuf Pichiqueki,* that is why night before last he was not at all anxious, being with one of his wives in The Woods near our Encampment, to go back to the Lodges where he was Asked for and Constantly called for to stop The Dispute that had arisen in his absence, but he was fearful on his own account. I believe that Band although Partly nephews and Brothers in law [are] Jealous of whoever is made chief giving Preferment to any of them, Since each of them separately believes himself as Great a Man as an Other.

Legarde came here, awaiting Messrs. Sayer and Réaume Tomorrow. I learned from him how many Kegs of H. W. he brought in for this post—fifty six Kegs, four have been kept for This Time, and to leave with la prairie who is to remain Inland with two Men. The son of le Mâle, Ouabique with his Father and family abandons This Region to remain elsewhere for Two or three years.

I got one Otter and 3 cakes of Gum For a 3 pt Blanket, a Breech cloth, and 18 Crosses. Smith and Savoyard today speared 61 fish.

Friday, Saturday 4, 5. It rained Hard all last night Until this morning about Seven the rain stopped. Pichiqueki killed a deer yesterday that he brought to the Encampment of Mr. Sayer. Smith & Savoyard did not go Yesterday to Spear fish, today they Speared 42 Carp and 2 Barbues.

Sunday 6. This morning La Garde and The negro went to the Lodges to get a savage to go ahead with them in advance of Messrs. Sayer and Réaume. Pichiqueki Embarked with them they had not been gone More than Two Hours before These gentlemen Passed. Savoyard's wife Cooked on a Grill some fish For the voyage, they Speared 42. Les razeurs went out by la meckaganne before going by The River Jaune according to Savoiard's report. Laprairie sent two Men in advance of Mr. Sayer To get provisions (he and His Men are Fasting) and to announce his coming to the savages.

Monday 7. Mr. Sayer left This morning To go and rejoin La prairie at La Meckaganne. Le Beuf followed Him. It thundered and rained Much all Last night Until about nine Oclock the rain stopped. Towards 4 Oclock This afternoon The thunder and Rain recommenced and lasted Part of the night. While it was Pleasant Smith went with Savoyard to the Spearing place, getting 2 Barbues and 7 Carp.

Tuesday 8. The rain ceased this morning. Smith went to spear and got 4 Barbues and 6 Carp. I had Yesterday some fish for the voyages Cooked for me. I got today a brasse and

½ of bark and 3 Boxes of Ouatappe [Watap][91] that I paid for with 2 lumps of Garnets. Le Beuf arrived this morning. Le Sourd told me that Mr. Sayer had not got The furs of les Razeurs, having no more Rum. I hope that news is true, still more that David and The other two will arrive soon with what I have Asked for. The savages have teased me for a Long time to leave two Men to pass The summer with them saying that they will pay whoever stays their Credits. One party [of Indians] is to leave tomorrow to go and catch Beaver and Otter whose skins they say are yet Good.

Wednesday 9. All The savages left This morning To go to catch Beaver and Otter at The River aux Epinette,[92] they say they will stay there all this month and then come up as Far as The Weir. They saw no French at La Meckaganne. Kinondaguié and Savoyard have mended and Gummed the Largest Canoe, Leaving the other cached on The island opposite The entrance of the river Jaune. I am to leave Tomorrow morning if it is Pleasant. Savoiard announced to me that if his wife Could go to the Grand Portage he would not come back here again, at least he would do his best to go elsewhere. Smith said as much to me In the Course of The Winter, and again repeated it today. They went This afternoon to the fishing grounds on The river Jaune, Speared 14 fish.

Thursday 10th. Today I left and passed the night at the foot of the Big rapid. I got on my departure from one of le Sourd's wives 1 small beaver skin for a heap of Garnets.

Friday 11. Left our Encampment about nine Oclock and slept Above le petit Gallet. The rain began to fall about 7 Oclock this evening and Lasted Until

---

[91] Watap (Chippewa, Watab) is the long slender root of the spruce that is used to lace together strips of birch-bark for canoes and other utensils. It is prepared by the Indian women, and is a necessity for all aboriginal voyaging on inland waters.—Ed.

[92] *Epinette* is Canadian-French for spruce. Spruce River is a small stream in Pine County, Minn., that rises in Douglas County, Wis., and embouches into the St. Croix almost on the Minnesota-Wisconsin boundary.—Ed.

Sunday 13th. David, Boisvert and Connor arrived in a little Canoe this morning, with one Keg H. W. one sack of Corn and another Damaged, having Cached The rest at St. Croix portage. They got from Ouabique For 5 pints Pure H. W. 4 Big Beaver and one Otter.

Monday 14. I Turned over to Smith The Merchandise that I had left as it appears on the Credit book. He cached it and we went to pass the night above the Grand Gallet. Laprairie is at the weir with his wife and children, waiting for a Canoe from fond du Lac, with merchandise and Rum.

Tuesday 15th. We came to Sleep at la Meckoiganne, which we Left Wednesday 16 and arrived at the encampment on The island in St. Croix Lake. Mr. Reaume is Camped on The other side, on the Grand Terre, opposite us.

Thursday 17. I had The packs remade and took one deer skin to make Cords to Cross them. Smith and David went after the merchandise &c. that was cached and I visited and verified it.

Friday 18. I Left them to Smith with The blankets Of my Bed, 3 pairs of 2½ Point, recommending David in particular To watch over the Things as I know Smith is very negligent, I want them to go to Lake vazeux[93] Immediately to find Les razeurs and other savages, who have Brought along Their peltry not wishing to give them to Laprairie who had no Rum for them, this was The report Babeux's wife made to Savoyard's who repeated it to me. I had them go off, promising to come to their help as soon as I arrived at the Grand portage with some Rum and a little merchandise, if Sir McKenzie did

[93] Vaseux (or Mud) Lake is the former name of the present Spooner Lake, near the head of the Yellow River. The Indian name, Mr. Thomas informs us, was Ka-kwa-kish-ka-ka-kog, meaning a shallow, muddy lake. At the present time there is found on this lake a considerable Indian village, which has been there for many years. Two old Indians, named respectively Wolf and Chicag, who died some years ago at an advanced age, told Mr. Peaslee that over a hundred years ago there was a fur-trade post on the island in Mud Lake, now known as Harper's.—Ed.

not dispose Of me otherwise. I had told the savages that I would come Early to retire their Credits that were due and they had promised to pay me In The Course Of The summer. I left immediately after they did, Savoyard and Connor In The Big Canoe with 7 Packs, Boisvert and I In one of 3 Brasses length with 3 packs and my Personal Baggage. We camped at St. Croix portage.

Saturday 19th. We made The portage today and camped on the hither side, we had a little rain.

Sunday 20. Mr. Réaume came to Camp near us his Men and Mine made The roadway, cut Some Large and Small Poles for the Canoes; he has 4 Canoes, 8 Men and 37 Packs, of which 16 are Beaver 3 Bear, the others deer skins and miscellaneous.

Monday 21. We departed together having Left In The alder thickets,[94] where I met them, Girard, Bellaire and la prairie's son in a little canoe. I saw In it only one Bundle, a Keg of H. W. and 2 sacks of Corn, I arrived to Pass the night Above the rapids of the Cedars.

Tuesday 22. We camped this Day nearly halfway down The river Brulée.

Wednesday 23. We made The Portages of the 3 Décharges and passed the night below the 4th where we had a little rain.

Thursday 24. We arrived at Lake Superior Early; since the wind was blowing from the north east Savoyard put two nets into The water In The river Brulee; Mr. Réaume arrived about 5 Oclock.

Friday 25. The wind continued from the same direction; visited The nets, caught 8 fish.

Saturday 26. Sunday 27. The wind continued From the same direction these two days; we had some rain today. Mr. Réaume sent off a Light Canoe To get Some provisions at fond Du Lac.

Monday 28th. The wind having Changed and Diminished

[94] See *ante*, p. 405, note 32, for the heavy growth of this brush.—Ed.

we left this morning and camped Early at The river La Meckanne[95] where Savoiard set one net.

Tuesday 29. Having looked at The net this morning, where 3 little Carp were taken, Savoiard Took It up and we left to camp a little this side of The entrance of the river of fond du Lac in order to fish. Mr. Réaume and His Men Camped near us.

Wednesday 30. Thursday 31. Yesterday I went to see Messrs. McBean & Grignon and Dined with them. Mr. Sayer left for the Grand Portage in a Light Canoe with nine Men. Mr. Letang is in another that followed. Caught 15 fish. Today caught 47 fish in two Liftings of the nets, part of which we gave to Mr. McBean's Men, who came to see me a Short time this evening with Mr. Grignon.

June 1st. Friday. I went to Mr. Grignon's fort. I got From him eight Livres Of Gum, and One Box of Ouatappe [watap], with The sack of Corn Left by David This spring. Took 18 fish in two Liftings. Mr. Grignon told me that my Canoe that The Men left at La pointe Last autumn was Broken to pieces he did not know who did it. I did not give orders to Leave It There. Mr. Grant For the old Company came After Dinner to the fort in a Light Canoe.

Saturday 2nd. Today Caught Fourteen Fish in two Liftings. Nothing extraordinary occurred.

Sunday 3d. Today Took in two Liftings twenty-two Fish. The wind arose from the north about Four Oclock this afternoon and continued to Increase; we had this night rain and Thunder.

Monday 5. The wind having Diminished Last night Savoyard went to lift The nets. Caught 26 fish. The wind Increasing The nets were not put back in The water.

Wednesday 6. The wind continued always from the Same Direction and with more Force than Yesterday.

Thursday 7, Friday 8. Yesterday The wind was stronger, it was impossible to put The nets in the water. I set one net

[95] Probably the present Amnicon River, in Douglas County.—Ed.

in the water of the Bay, caught this morning Two Pike. The wind is still From the same Direction But less strong.

Saturday 9. I went this morning to Mr. Grignon's house to see Mr. McBean who had left Yesterday evening with all his Men except Bellanger[96] and The Two Lizottes, who stay to Guard The house. I Left a Canoe in their care, the one Mr. Grignon Gave This spring to David. I am only waiting for Calm weather to Leave also. The wind changed Yesterday evening, it blew toward the north, and with Much force all Last night and Continues still today but not so strong.

Sunday 10th. The wind having entirely Decreased, I left this morning about nine Oclock and Camped at Sunset at The first Island after Leaving fond Du Lac.[97]

Monday 11th. This morning at Sunrise we Embarked and Advanced with a light wind in the Rear Until about midday; when it Rose and changed. This obliged us To land at The second Island. At Two Oclock The wind again changing favorably For us we Set out and Passed the night a little this side Of The river au Baptême.[98]

Tuesday 12th. At sunrise we Left This Encampment, had favorable wind At Intervals, but it having failed us entirely turning Broadside, we were obliged To land a little this side of the Two Islands.[99] At Two Oclock in the afternoon, The wind Going down we set out and advanced until Sunset when we Camped.

Wednesday 13. We Departed this morning Early, having

---

[96] Augustin Bélanger was in 1804 a *voyageur* in the Fond du Lac department of the North West Company.—Ed.

[97] Probably Knife Island, opposite the mouth of Knife River, St. Louis County, Minn.—Ed.

[98] The second island was no doubt that called Encampment Island, off a river of the same name in Lake County, Minn. Baptism (au Baptême) River is farther to the northeast, in the same county.—Ed.

[99] The two islands are just beyond Beaver Bay, in Lake County, Minn., and either Curot was driven back there, or his encampment of the 11th was some distance from Baptism River, which is beyond the two islands.—Ed.

the wind Ahead all Day. We camped at Two Leagues From the Grand Marrais.

Thursday 14. Before Sunrise we Embarked with a contrary wind. We advanced Until about 10 Oclock, when The wind increased and we put to shore at about 1 League from the Grand Marrais. The wind and breakers having gone down we advanced Until about nine Oclock when The wind again rising we Camped In The Cove Just above The river Brulée,[1] whence we Departed

Friday 15. At Sunrise. We went on for 3 Hours, Contrary wind, which obliged us to put to land this side of the Island. Calm coming on about 6 O'clock, we Embarked and Camped at the Islands, whence we set out

Saturday 16, At Sunrise and arrived at The Grand Portage.

---

[1] For these localities see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xix, pp. 171, 172, notes 35, 37.—Ed.

Index

[Names of Battles, Creeks, Falls, Forts, Islands, Lakes, Mountains, Portages, Rapids, Rivers, Treaties, and Wars are grouped under those respective captions, instead of their individual names.]

Abbott, Samuel, agent of American Fur Company, 81, 88, 163, 164; sketch, 81.
Ada (Mich.), settler, 218.
Aird, James, fur-trader, 35, 52, 53, 81, 91; letter, 42; sketch, 35.
Aitkin, Alfred, murdered, 340.
Aitkin, William A., naturalized, 177; affidavit, 340, 341; sketch, 340.
Aitkin County (Minn.), 146, 340, 404.
Algoma, first settler of, 195.
Algonquian Indians, tribe of, 112.
A'lienest, Indian village, 148.
Allar, Jean Baptiste, employee, 118.
Allouez, cemetery at, 100; site, 245.
Amable, employee, 147, 156. See also Amable Grignon.
Amable, Indian creditor, 395.
American Antiquarian Society, *Transactions*, 268, 298.
American Board of Missions, 330.
American Fur Company, founded, x; agents, 116, 118, 129, 167, 176, 217, 340; passport for, 55; post, 173; pictures of warehouses, 42, 168; employees, 130, 178, 212, 218, 357, 360, 397, 403; protests by, 17–31, 135, 136; complained of, 277, 278, 309, 310, 333, 368–371; opposes factories, xv–xviii; rivalry with, 166, 182, 374; outfitters, 211, 261, 290, 291, 308, 341, 342; orders, 302, 337, 338; contract for liquor, 384, 385; favored by Indian agents, 381, 382; influences Congress, 162–164. See also John Jacob Astor.
American State Papers, xvi, xviii, 66, 184, 204, 240.
Amherstburg (Ont.), Indians at, xii.
Amos, A., *Report of Trials*, etc., 106.
Anderson, Capt. Thomas G., fur-trader, 90, 353; letter, 202, 203; narrative cited, 7.
Andreas, A. T., *History of Chicago*, 92.
"Ann", Lake Michigan vessel, 219.
Annals of Congress, 204, 240.
Appleton, first settler, 226.
Armentinger. See Ermatinger.
Armstrong, Lieut. John, at Prairie du Chien, 52.
Arndt, John P., Green Bay merchant, 381.
Arndt, John Wallace, "Pioneers and Durham Boats on Fox River," 324, 381.
Askin, Kitty. See Hamilton.
Astor, John Jacob, president of American Fur Company, xi, 17; in North West Company, 89; influence with government, 36, 56, 61, 103; brings suit, 389; letter, 335, 336.
Astoria, on the Columbia, xii, 440, 455.
Ataoube, Chippewa Indian, 457.
Athabasca district, traders in, 178, 400, 455; trader from, 160; Wisconsin men in, 154.
Attina. See Laviolette.
Atwater, Reuben, secretary of Michigan Territory, 88.
Auguimanquikito, Indian creditor, 395, 396.
Aunanguain, Indian creditor, 394.
Au plat, game described, 430; Indians play, 449.
Avola, fur-bearing animal, 409, 411, 417, 422, 425, 443.

Babbien, Joseph, affidavit, 273.
Babeux, ——, fur-trade engagé, 400, 412, 426, 429, 431, 446, 450; wife of, 441, 447–449, 453, 467; fishing, 442, 443, 445, 461.
Bad Axe (Mauvaise Hache), Indian creditor, 195, 196.

Bailly, Alexis, trader, 330; sketch, 197.
Baird, Henry S., at Mackinac, 341, 346; cited, 352; sketch, 341.
Bangée, ——, employee, 331.
Baptiste, employee, 129, 130.
Baraboo, Indian village near, 236.
Barbour, James, secretary of war, 385, 387.
Barbue, fish identified, 463; in northern waters, 114.
Barnard, F., letter, 168–170.
Barnes, Capt. ——, mentioned, 56.
Barthe, Laurent, trader, 189.
Barthe family, 189.
Bas de la Prairie, trading site, 155.
Bates, David G., trader, 356, 363, 377; sketch, 356.
Bathurst, Henry, earl, memoir for, 1–12.
Battles—
Fallen Timbers, 9.
Lake Erie, 312.
Monguagon, 319.
Palo Alto, 336.
River Raisin, 8.
Tippecanoe, 8.
Bayfield, trail to, 404.
Bays—
Beaver, 470.
Grand Traverse, 50, 218.
Green, Indians near, 48, 50, 349, 350; as a boundary, 281; islands, 346; route via, 2, 7, 329, 330.
Hudson, 109, 110, 112, 154, 160, 203.
Keweenaw, 343.
Noquet, 349, 376.
Saginaw, 21.
Sturgeon, 377.
Thunder, 238.
Bean, Nicholas G., Brown County justice, 359; clerk of court, 216.
Beaubien, Jean Baptiste, trader, 318, 328; at Milwaukee, 360, 361, 367; sketch, 318.
Beauchant, ——, employee, 147, 158.
Beaudoin, Alexis, fur-trade engagé, 130, 396–398.
Beaupré, François, employee, 281.
Beaupré, Louis, fur-trader, 119, 189, 232, 244, 375; wintering, 324, 325, 328; sketch, 119.
Beaupré, Louis Jr., employee, 281.
Bedford (Pa.), resident, 258.
Bélanger, Augustin, engagé, 470.
Belcher, William, fur-trader, 146, 172–174; letter for, 220–222.
Belden, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 308.
Bellaire, ——, engagé, 468.
Bellows, ——, fur-trader, 25.
Belt, Robert B., factor, 58, 95, 102.
Bennereaux, ——, employee, 220.
Benton, Thomas Hart, opposes factory system, xvii, 240.
Berthelot, Jean Baptiste, fur-trader, 24. 185, 214; sketch, 24.
Beshike. See Le Bœuf.
Bethune, Angus, X Y trader, 455.
Bibeau, Louis, naturalized, 177.
Biddle, Charles, son, 317.
Biddle, Edward, Mackinac merchant, 197, 317.
Biddle, Maj. John, Green Bay Indian agent, 219, 223, 227, 263, 264; reports to, 271, 275, 276; issues license, 220; arranges land-claims, 324; candidate, 374; sketch, 219.
Biddle, Nicholas, president of United States Bank, 317.
Biencoup, Wayawiné, Menominee Indian, 393.
"Big Knives," term for Americans, xii.
Black Decorah, Winnebago chief, 267.
Black Hawk, Sauk chief, 141.
Black Hawk (Hay-ray-tshon-sarp), Winnebago chief, 143.
Black Night. See Nuit Noire.
Black River Falls, Indians near, 143.
Black Rock (N. Y.), steamer built at, 245.
Black Wolf (Loup noir, Shoank-tshunk-siap), Winnebago chief, 299.
Blair, Lieut. William S., arrests traders, 24; sued, 389, 390.
Blake, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 136, 172, 318.
Blodgett, ——, at Green Bay, 226.
Blondeau, Barthelemi, trader, 356.
Blondeau, Maurice, trader, 356, 364.
Blondeau family, 356.
Blondin, ——, debtor, 214.
Blondo, Menominee Indian, 394.
Bloody Run (Mich.), 117.
Blue Hawk. See Black Hawk (Winnebago).
Boileau, F., employee, 281.
Boilvin, Nicolas, Indian agent, 62–64, 167, 171, 238, 375; characterized, 265; letter, 266–268; letter for, 126, 127; extent of agency, 248; on furlough, 179; recommends sites, 365, 366; sends vocabulary, 298, 299; sketch, 62.

Boisvert, Joseph, employee, 397, 399, 401, 402, 405, 406, 413, 418, 434, 446, 448; sent for provisions, 411, 414, 421, 424, 432, 435, 438; on drouine, 416, 417, 419, 425; lives with Indians, 428, 430, 433, 435; fishing, 432, 433, 437; hunting, 436; sent to Fond du Lac, 439, 440, 443, 445, 448, 454; returns, 467; sketch, 397.
Boleau, ——, employee, 119.
Boley, ——, letter, 235.
Bonds, form for, 44–47.
Bordeau, Pierre, employee, 118.
Bostwick, ——, St. Louis merchant, 303; influence on Congress, 163. See also Stone, Bostwick & Co.
Bostwick, O. N., Detroit merchant, 125; outfitter, 34–36.
Botetourt County (Va.), 188.
Bouché, Bazil, deserts, 247.
Bouche, Joseph, employee, 220.
Bourassa, Daniel, fur-trader, 87, 88.
Bouthillier, Elmire, married, 114.
Bouthillier, François, trader, 241; sketch, 173.
Bouvier, ——, fur-trader, 398.
Bowyer, Col. John, Green Bay Indian agent, 17, 49, 50, 89, 99, 123, 143, 144; issues license, 130, 135; revokes license, 128, 135–137; issues pass, 184; letters, 56–58, 143, 144; letter for, 121; messages, 152, 166; death, 219; sketch, 17.
Boyd, Col. George, Mackinac Indian agent, 116, 118, 119, 171, 182, 183, 201, 202, 329; influence on Indians, 261; complaints, 345–349; on furlough, 134; orders for, 249–251, 275, 276; sketch, 116.
Boyd, Joshua J., mentioned, 134, 171.
Boyer, Francis, interpreter, 273.
Bradley, Capt. John, at Green Bay, 324.
Brannon, John, *Official Letters*, 6.
Brasse, term explained, 401.
Bréchue, Indian creditor, 195.
Brevoort, Henry B., Green Bay Indian agent, 311, 329, 330, 369, 378; issues licenses, 360–362, 379; sends Indian census, 349–351; sketch, 311, 312.
Brisbois, Antoine, Prairie du Chien trader, 28.
Brisbois, Joseph, fur-trader, 217, 220–222; barge, 232; sketch, 217.
Brisbois, Michel Sr., son, 217.
Brisbois, Michel, Prairie du Chien trader, 28, 146, 150, 233, 243, 246, 274; sketch, 173.
Bristol, Marie Brevoort, narrative, 312.
British, influence with Indians, xi–xiv, 2, 5, 26, 27, 29, 57, 84, 115, 133, 141, 142, 248–253, 259, 261, 265, 267, 298, 299; land-grants, 165, 216, 217; abandon allies, 91; evacuate posts, 125; flag in Wisconsin, 141; quality of goods, 288; competition with, 382, 383. See also Wars: 1812–15.
British Columbia, traders in, 178.
Bronaugh, J. W., clerk, 109, 124; letter, 181.
Brousseau, Joseph, engagé, 444–446, 452.
Brown, Gen. Jacob, head of army, 142.
Brown County, officials, 128, 256, 358, 359; citizens, 178, 179, 313; court records, 216.
Brownsville (Minn.), site of, 146.
Bruce, William H., Green Bay merchant, 324.
Brule (Wis.), site, 404.
Brunett, J. B., interpreter, 281.
Brunette, Dominique (Masca), trader, 193, 195, 323, 328; sketch, 193.
Brush, Charles R., in Wisconsin, 176.
Bryce, George, *Manitoba*, 23.
Buck, Indian lead-miner, 296.
Buck, James S., *Pioneer History of Milwaukee*, 361.
Buffalo. See Le Bœuf.
Buffalo-skins, receptacle for wild rice, 406.
Buffalo (N. Y.), port, 245.
Burlington (Iowa). See Flint Hills.
Burnett County, fur-trade post in, xx, xxi, 396; streams, 414, 418.
Burnham, Capt. ——, Lake Michigan skipper, 368.
Burton, Clarence E., library, 87, 162, 168, 335; aid acknowledged, xxi.
Butte des Morts, Indians near, 350; traders at, 129, 130, 223, 225, 245, 302, 304, 388, 392, 393; fur-trade post, 321, 323, 325, 375, 376; settlers, 195; treaty at, 299, 316. See also Treaties.

Cacalin. See Kaukauna.
Cache, meaning of term, 410.
Cadotte, Jean Baptiste, fur-trader, 400, 430.
Cadotte, Jean Baptiste Jr., 403.
Cadotte, Michel, fur-trader, 341, 403.

Calhoun, J. C., secretary of war, xvi, xvii, 61, 66, 86, 103, 122, 123, 162, 163, 219, 264, 265, 271, 354, 358; letters, 275, 297; instructions, 230, 278, 279, 289, 290, 300, 301, 305; issues passport, 254.
Calumet, Menominee village, 323, 328, 332, 394; census, 350.
Camp Smith, evacuated, 245, 247.
Campbell, Duncan, employee, 118.
Campbell, Lieut. John, in fur-trade, 22.
Campbell, John D., captured, 160.
Campbell, Scott, employee, 118.
Campeau, Joseph, Detroit merchant, 384.
Canada, archives, xxi, 1–12, 110, 396; hard times in, 202, 203.
Caramaunee (Nahkaw, Walking Turtle), Winnebago chief, 267.
Carbonneau. See Provençal.
Cardin, Catiche. See Grignon.
Cardinal, Louis, employee, 281.
Carver, Jonathan, land-claim, 330; *Travels*, 406.
Cass, Lewis, governor of Michigan Territory, 20, 185; expedition to Lake Superior, 201, 278, 280; commissions officers, 217; issues passport, 55; transmits vocabulary, 268; on factory system, 82–86, 204, 242; supports American Fur Company, xvii, 163; breaks British influence, 248–251; orders for, 219, 300, 301; instructions, 25, 26, 42–44, 47–49, 64, 65, 87, 88, 115–117, 133, 182, 183, 263, 264, 306, 307; letters, 17, 56–58, 126, 127, 201, 202, 264–266, 285–289; letters for, 20, 33, 88–90, 120, 123, 135–137, 143, 144, 167, 261, 275, 298, 299, 311, 339, 340, 343, 344; complaints to, 257–260, 345–349; private secretary, 316.
Catholics, baptize Indians, 236; church, 226; in Congress, 319.
Cavalry, in Indian wars, 8–10.
Cedars, on St. Lawrence, 183.
Census, of Indians, 50, 117, 143, 237, 238, 349–351.
Cerré, Gabriel, daughter of, 234.
Chacannaga, les yeux gris, Indian creditor, 395.
Chaiby net, Indian creditor, 395.
Chakanaga, Indian creditor, 393.
Chalifoux, Pierre, employee, 222, 223, 226, 233.
Chambers, Col. Talbot, at Mackinac, 18, 52, 53, 89; Prairie du Chien, 24, 29, 60; St. Louis, 103; seizures, 163; removed, 151; suit against, 389, 390; letter, 51, 52; sketch, 18.
Chappu, Stanislaus, naturalized, 177; at Portage, 376; on Menominee River, 358, 359; employee, 174, 245, 328, 332, 362, 392; message for, 107, 150, 382; sketch, 107.
Charatchou. See Smoker.
Charbenno, ——, employee, 332.
Charette. See Chorette.
Charleau, Indian hunter, 154.
Charlo, Menominee Indian, 395.
Charodchon, Indian creditor, 393.
Chat. See Shaw.
Chawannon, Indian creditor, 394.
Chawanny kigique, Indian creditor, 394.
Chawawnissé, Indian creditor, 393.
Chawounon, Indian messenger, 132.
Cherokee Indians, treaty with, 39.
Chevalier, Marinette, married, 176.
Chicag, Chippewa Indian, 467.
Chicago, Indians near, 237, 238, 250; fort at, 2, 172, 319; massacre, 2, 228; factory at, xiii, xvii, xviii, 4, 27, 83; closed, 203–205, 219, 266, 286, 287; Indian agent at, 44, 103, 127, 218, 276, 367, 368; traders, 182, 218, 227, 270; Cass visits, 201; wreck near, 92; mail route via, 350, 371; tavern at, 218; liquor from, 272; agency boundaries, 47, 50; pioneers, 315, 316; *Record Herald*, 7. See also Forts: Dearborn.
Chipanago, Indian creditor, 394.
Chippewa Indians, habitat, 344, 403; described, 454; villages, 418, 467; census, 50, 237, 349, 350; Folle Avoine branch, 396; hostile, 141; wars with Sioux, 92, 404, 408, 411; annuities, 285, 286; agents, 48, 317; traders for, 274, 400; credits for, 393–395, 403; captive among, 397; liquor for, 382, 385; marry whites, 195, 340, 418, 419.
Choctaw Indians, treaty with, 257.
Chonquippe, Indian, 153, 154.
Chopine, term defined, 400.
Choret, François, employee, 392.
Chorette, Marguerite, married, 153.
Chorette, Simon, fur-trader, 329, 398; daughter, 153; naturalized, 177, 178; sketch, 329.
Choscomine, Winnebago Indian, 394.
Chunn, John T., commandant at Green Bay, 186.
Clairmont, Jeremie, naturalized, 177.
Clapp, Ben, witness, 210.
Clark, George Rogers, campaigns, 8.

Clark, John Kinzie (Indian), at Milwaukee, 270, 271, 275; refused license, 276; sketch, 270.
Clark, William, governor of Missouri Territory, 21–23, 103; superintendent of Indian affairs, 289, 365–367, 375, 381; letter, 385–387; letter for, 378; nephew, 24.
Clukey, John B., affidavit, 273.
Clybourne family, at Chicago, 270.
Columbia Fur Company, organized, 166.
Commogeo, Indian creditor, 394.
Comstock, Dr. William S., at Green Bay, 185.
Conant. See Mack & Conant.
Congress, petitioned by Selkirk, 110; Catholic priest in, 319; considers factory system, 66, 82, 204, 205, 239–241, 256, 257; regulates Indian trade, 263, 264, 339, 347.
Connor, ——, captive, 397.
Connor, John (Jean), in Curot's employ, 397, 399, 401, 406, 417, 424, 438, 446; illness, 402; superstition, 410, 411; on drouine, 419, 421, 422, 425; fishing, 437; goes for supplies, 428, 430, 432–434, 437; sent to Fond du Lac, 440, 443, 445, 448, 454; returns, 467; sketch, 397.
Cook County (Ill.), officials, 218.
Corbeille, Louis, married, 155.
Coues, Elliott, *Expeditions of Z. M. Pike,* 454; *History of Greater Northwest,* 399, 430, 444.
Council Bluffs (Iowa), Indian agent at, 24; proposed factory at, 39.
Coursoll, ——, trader, 53.
Courtoreille, Winnebago Indian, 393, 394.
"Covering the dead," Indian custom, 412.
Cowpen, in Indiana, 47.
Crafts, John, fur-trader, 182.
Crawford, William H., secretary of the treasury, 288, 297, 373.
Crawford County, established, 293, 294, 313; clerk of court, 217.
Credit system, importance of, 353, 354; drawbacks, 368, 369; lists, 393–395.
Cree Indians. See Maskegon.
Creeks—
Devil's, mill on, 381.
Nebagamon, 405.
Ox, 407.
Wild Cat, 146.
Crequé. See McGulpin.
Crooks, Ramsay, agent of American Fur Company, 19–21, 31, 88, 104, 129, 172, 200, 201, 207, 209, 226, 232, 255, 277; leaves Montreal, 53; passport, 55; illness, 283; letters, 162–164, 206, 210–212, 214; messages, 158, 275; letters for, 216–219, 335, 336; opposes factories, 240; reports prices, 272–274; sketch, 19.
Crosman, George H., in Wisconsin, 336.
Cross Timbers (Ind. Ty.), commandant, 168.
Crow, Dr. ——, traveller, 126.
Cureau family, 397.
Curot, Amable, trader, 397.
Curot, Michel, fur-trade journal, xx, xxi, 396–471; sketch, 396, 397.
Currie, William, witness, 342.
Cutler, Maj. Enos, at Sault Ste. Marie, 384.

Dabin, Antoine, employee, 118.
Dakota Indians. See Sioux.
Darling, Daniel, fur-trader, 23, 24.
Dauphiné, François, engagé, 450.
Davenport, Col. George, trader, 357, 364, 377.
Davenport (Iowa), platted, 357.
David, Bazile, in Curot's employ, 396, 399–401, 406, 412, 418, 425, 445, 450, 453, 454, 469, 470; on drouine, 416, 417, 425, 426; lives with Indians, 412–414, 419, 422, 428, 430–435, 440, 441, 443, 448, 452, 453; takes wife, 418, 419; fishing, 432, 449, 453, 456; goes to Fond du Lac, 456; returns, 467; sketch, 397.
Davis, Edward, auctioneer, 187, 231.
Davis, John H., naturalized, 177.
Death's Door (Porte des Morts), outlet of Green Bay, 318.
Deau, Guillaume, fur-trade engagé, 397, 398.
Deau, Hubert, fur-trade engagé, 397, 398.
"Decatur", Lake Michigan vessel, 226.
Décharge, term explained, 402.
Decorah family, Winnebago chiefs, 235, 267.
Delafield, Major Joseph, messenger, 261.
Delaware Indians, assigned to agency, 47; emigrate to Missouri, 238.
De Meuron regiment, officer, 111.
Demiard, term explained, 440.
Deneau, Joseph, employee, 118.
Denege, Etienne, employee, 281.
Dequindre, Maj. Antoine, Detroit merchant, 319, 320.
Des Caris. See Decorah.

Desormier, Jean Baptiste, employee, 118.
Detour des Pins. See Pine Bend.
Detroit, in War of 1812–15, 2, 6; Indians near, 238; agency boundaries, 48; merchants, 226, 319, 320; resident, 124; officials, 217, 219, 312; fur-trade goods, 335; factory goods, 300; license issued at, 88; custom house, 31; treaty, 182; mail for, 328, 334; scarcity at, 81.
Deversaller, ——, trader, 129.
Devotion, Louis, fur-trader, 101, 131, 145, 146, 150, 158, 159, 161, 173; wintering, 220–222; letter for, 151, 152; outfitter, 357.
Dickson, Robert, in War of 1812–15, 166, 186, 281, 299; trading, 155; Selkirk's agent, 42, 109–113; in Red River settlement, 36, 90, 235; at Prairie du Chien, 51, 160, 164–166; passport for, 254; letters, 105–107, 170, 171; death, 353.
Dickson, William, at Mackinac, 351; trader, 173; letter, 154, 155.
Dirt Lodge, trading site, 356, 358, 364, 366, 367, 377, 378.
Dorchester (Ont.), land grants at, 216.
Dorion, ——, fur-trader, 63.
Dorion, Jean Baptiste Jr., employee, 118.
Doty, James D., *Journal*, 201.
Doughty, Arthur G., aid acknowledged, xxi.
Douglas County, stream in, 466.
Dousman, John, at Mackinac, 214, 346.
Dousman, Michael, 246, 247, 377; merchant, 176, 221, 225, 361, 369, 370, 388; contract for cattle, 112; en route to Red River, 227; sells liquor, 182, 183; at Green Bay, 232; in Green Bay Company, 373, 378–380; letters, 55, 56, 234–236; son, 303, 304; sketch, 56.
Draper Mss., cited, 2, 8, 9, 380, 381.
Drouine, term explained, xix, 149; in Wisconsin, 188–190.
Dubois, ——, trader, 375, 381.
Dubuque (Iowa), Pike visits, 357; mine at, 375.
Duchêne, Joseph Sr., naturalized, 177.
Dufrain, Mrs. ——, at Detroit, 81.
Dugé, Joseph, employee, 220.
Dugus, Joseph, employee, 384.
Dunwich (Ont.), land grants at, 216.
Durham boats, on Fox River, 324; built, 381.
Eagle, Menominee Indian, 359.
East India Company, employees, 160.
Edouard, ——, employee, 331.
Edwards, Ninian, governor of Illinois Territory, xvii, 21, 23, 228; sketch, 14.
Elkhart County (Ind.), skirmish in, 8.
Ellis, Albert G., at Green Bay, 317, 320; portrait, 317.
Embargo, effect on fur-trade, 5.
Emery, Jean Baptiste, employee, 392.
Epinette, term defined, 466.
Episcopal church, at Green Bay, 221, 317.
Erie, district of, 183.
Erie (Pa.), port, 330.
Ermatinger (Armentinger), Charles Oakes, fur-trader, 25, 26, 80; outfitter, 341, 342; sketch, 25.
Ermatinger, George, fur-trader, 25, 139, 140; license for, 119; at Sault Ste. Marie, 155.
Espagnole, Winnebago Indian, 393.
Eveleth, Lieut. William S., drowned, 92.

Factory system, British fear, 1–12; methods explained, 62–64, 190–192; sites of, 27; destroyed in War of 1812–15, 4; proposed, 37–40; objections to, 26–29, 31, 82–86, 196, 199, 218; defense of, 37–41, 66–79, 175, 179–181; difficulties, 12–16; proceeds, 95, 96, 186, 187; investigation, 239–241; abolition, 197, 203–205, 219, 254–257, 265, 266, 278, 279; goods to be disposed of, 285, 286, 300, 301.
Falls—
Gregory, on the Brulé, 402.
St. Anthony, 228, 314.
Sandstone (Mc Caskill), on the Brulé, 403.
Faribault, Alexander, fur-trader, 197.
Faribault, Lucy, married, 197.
Farnham, Russell, fur-trader, 23, 24, 29, 245, 356, 364, 389, 390; sketch, 356.
Farnsworth, William, fur-trader, 176, 323, 325, 376, 377; illegal methods, 345–348; on the Menominee, 359; agreement with, 379; witness, 213; sketch, 176.
Farrar, Amos, trader, 357, 364, 377; sketch, 357.
Fawn-skins, receptacles for wild rice, 406.
Fearson, Julia, married, 93.
Felix, Antoine, employee, 118.

Felixe, ——, trader, 146.
Fily, Laurent, clerk, 193, 194, 301; message from, 108, 233, 388; sketch, 108.
Ffolle, term explained, 416.
Fish, Capt. Job, commands steamer, 245.
Fisher, Henry Monroe, at Green Bay, 318, 319.
Fisher, fur-bearing animal, 436.
Five Medals. See Onoxa.
Flint Hills (Burlington), trading site, 356–358, 364, 366, 377, 378.
Floyd, Col. John, rescued, 8.
Folle Avoine country, in Wisconsin, 178, 343, 406, 428; defined, 396. See also Wild Rice.
Folle Avoine (Followines) Indians. See Menominee.
Folle Avoine Sauteurs. See Chippewa.
Fond du Lac (Lake Superior), traders at, 116, 176, 178, 340, 357; district, 343, 438; site, 397, 398, 400, 412, 414, 418, 421, 425, 426, 430, 439, 440, 445, 447, 448, 454, 467, 468; posts at, 401; trail to, 431, 443; return to, 469, 470.
Fond du Lac (Wis.), hunting at, 196; Indians near, 129, 195, 350, 394; fur-trade at, 149, 224, 332, 355, 371, 372, 390, 391, 393.
Foreigners, who constitute, 32, 33, 120–125, 127, 135; factors employ, 28; excluded, 16, 17, 51, 55–57, 65, 66, 115–117, 184, 186, 280; exceptions for, 19, 20, 42–47, 185, 289; trading, 179, 180, 259; oppression of, 90–94, 138, 184, 244.
Forsyth, Maj. Thomas, Indian agent, 227, 238, 257, 381; on upper Mississippi, 330; grants licenses, 356–358, 363–367; letters, 354, 374, 375, 377, 378; sketch, 227, 228.
Forsyth, Richardson & Co., letter to, 93–95.
Forts—
Armstrong, location, 386; commandant, 229, 390; Indian agent, 227, 228; events, 23, 24, 257, 295, 374; hostilities, 158, 165, 166, 168, 171.
Atkinson. See Armstrong.
Bowyer, siege, 134.
Chippewyan, 455.
Clark. See Osage.
Crawford, xiii, 51, 236, 266, 291, 293; picture, 58.
Dearborn, built, 7; massacre at, 1, 2, 6, 9, 228, 315; rebuilt 92; commandant, 93; sutler, 278.
Edwards, 228, 229; commandant, 168; factory, 58, 257.
Erie, siege, 168, 169, 186.
George (Astoria), 455.
Gratiot, 172.
Howard, xiii, 139–142, 281, 349, 350; officers at, 186, 270, 305, 322; building suspended, 197, 245; mail from, 328.
Johnson, 228.
Leavenworth, 27, 168.
Madison, 40.
Massac, 3.
Meigs, 139, 267, 299.
Monroe, 139.
Niagara, 93.
Osage (Clark), 27, 68, 137, 187, 231.
Shelby, 22.
Snelling, xiii, 161, 205; built, 168; picture, 168.
Wayne, 2, 6–8, 238; factory at, 4, 27; agency, 9, 127; mail via, 371, 374.
William, fur-trade headquarters, 113, 396, 455; seized, 23, 110, 111.
Winnebago, 107, 172, 316.
York, 160.
Four Lakes, trading near, 376.
Four Legs (Neokotah), Winnebago chief, sketch, 267; creditor, 394.
Fox Indians, habitat, 363, 364; census, 237, 238; visit British, 267; relations to neighbors, 92, 167; at lead-mines, 63, 71, 228, 296, 298; traders for, 146, 243, 367, 380; half-breed, 356; marry whites, 357. See also Sauk Indians.
François, employee, 362.
Franks, Jacob, fur-trader, 24, 52, 53, 93, 150, 201; letters, 35, 36, 55, 80, 81; letter for, 183–185, 277, 308.
Frans, employee, 235.
French, in Wisconsin fur-trade, xi, xii, xiv, xix, xx. See also Curot's *Journal* and the several traders and voyageurs.
Frenier, François, employee, 118.
Frobisher, Benjamin, captured, 160.
Froisir, Louis, employee, 118.
Fur-trade, in Wisconsin, documents relating to (1812–25), xi–xxi, 1–471.

Gagné, ——, employee, 387.
Gaines, Gen. Edmund P., letter for, 297.

Galena (Ill.), mining near, 296, 356; fur-traders, 357.
Galet, term explained, 409.
Gallatin, Albert, in Whiskey Rebellion, 10; "Synopsis of Indian Tribes," 268, 298.
Games, played by Indians, 430.
Garriepy, ——, blacksmith, 362, 363.
Gates, J. P., at Prairie du Chien, 95.
Gautier, Antoine, trader, 357, 364.
Gautier de Verville, Charles, descendants, 357.
Geke, Antoine, employee, 118.
"General Jackson," on Lake Huron, 136.
Georgetown (Md.), fur sale at, 186.
Girad, ——, fur-trade employee, 195.
Girard, Joseph, engagé, 439, 440, 450, 468.
Glode (Glaud), Indian creditor, 195.
Glory of the Morning, Winnebago chieftess, 235.
Golemens, ——, Milwaukee trader, 270, 271.
Gordon, William, aid acknowledged, 408.
Gordon, site, 407, 408.
Gothier. See Gautier.
Gournoe, ——, Green Bay resident, 56.
Graham, Duncan, trader, 154, 165, 166.
Graham, George, letter for, 286–289.
Graham, Richard, Indian agent, 237.
Grand Blan, Winnebago Indian, 129.
Grand Cheveux, Winnebago Indian, 129.
Grand Ecrivin. See Chipinago.
Grand Forks (N. Dak.), site of proposed settlement, 111.
Grand Callet, site on St. Croix, 467.
Grand Kaukauna. See Kaukauna.
Grand Marais (Minn.), 471.
Grand Portage, fur-trade headquarters, 396, 398, 413, 427, 439, 455, 466, 467; return to, 471.
Grand Prairie, on the Brulé, 404.
Grand Rapids (Wis.), early settler, 154.
Grand Rapids, on the Saskatchewan, 160.
Grand Sable, Menominee Indian, 393, 394.
Grand Terre, on St. Croix Lake, 467.
Grande Fourche. See Grand Forks.
Grant, Peter, North West trader, 454; at Fond du Lac, 469; "Sauteur Indians," 430, 454.
Gratiot, Charles, merchant, 139.
Gravaret, Henry, interpreter, 33; discharged, 348.
Gravelle, Louis, in Northwest, 155.
Gravelle, Marguerite, married, 100.
Green Bay, population, 60, 350; Indians near, 237, 238, 250; factory at, xi–xx, 13, 27, 28, 34, 83, 96, 101, 135; fails, 198, 199, 204, 205, 219, 266; closed, 279, 286, 287, 300; Indian agency, 44, 48, 58, 89, 103, 116, 117, 123, 127, 219, 263, 301, 312, 324, 327, 349, 368; traders at, 119, 130, 131, 176, 184, 193, 220, 262; British subjects, 57; natives, 120, 128, 166, 177, 179, 244, 299, 301; inhabitants, 99, 100, 145, 155, 313, 316, 331, 341, 359; plan to remove, 102–107, 109–113; neutral territory, 80; Indian title, 60, 61; land-claims, 17, 36, 80, 99, 100, 183, 184, 303, 320, 324, 373; commandant, 92, 93, 102, 108, 130, 134, 305; garrison, xiii, 197, 309, 310, 324, 332, 352; postmaster, 107; constable, 222; physician, 185; sutler, 174, 196, 217, 310; merchants, 221, 296; schools, 222, 226, 317; route via, 248, 249, 254; ferry at, 381; inn, 256; steamboat, 245, 307; liquor sold at, 71, 295, 383, 385; naturalization, 215, 216; events, 140, 165, 243, 308–310, 318–324, 327, 328, 331–334, 336–338, 351–353.
Green Bay Fur Company, formed, 206–211, 213, 214; continued, 261, 262, 283; licenses for, 311; goods, 333; arrangements, 268, 269, 290, 291, 378, 379; difficulties, 254, 255, 277, 368–371; agents, 232, 233, 302, 318, 326; clerk, 312, 313; help partner, 239; credits, 393–395.
Gregoire, Alexis, employee, 118.
Grey Cloud, Sioux woman, 173.
Grignon, Alexander, at Kaukauna, 108; Appleton, 227; merchant, 244.
Grignon, Amable, in Athabasca, 154, 227; returns, 319; trading, 326, 379, 382; contract, 355, 356; at Fond du Lac, 372, 390, 391; wife, 322; sketch, 154.
Grignon, Amable Jr., messenger, 268, 269.
Grignon, Amable III, employee, 157.
Grignon, Augustin, desires citizenship, 120; license revoked, 136; naturalized, 177; later licenses, 202, 281; trading, 99, 132, 156, 192–194, 196; joins Green Bay Company, 207, 210, 211, 214; wintering on Mississippi, 161, 217, 221, 225, 232–235; site of post, 235, 236; attacked, xix, 236, 239, 241–244, 255, 258–260, 262, 264,

265, 267; reimbursed, 274; later wintering, 283, 303, 325, 326, 331, 333, 336-338, 362, 363, 379; hears of brother's death, 301, 302; contracts, 269, 313-315, 355; land-claim, 324; account, 392; wife, 242; son, 244; engagé, 212; letters, 108, 387, 388; letters for, 195, 196, 243-247, 371, 372, 375, 376; messages, 304, 318, 382; cited, 141; portrait, frontispiece; sketch, 108.
Grignon, Bernard Jr., in War of Secession, 227.
Grignon, Catiche Cardin, married, 159; messages for, 130, 223-226.
Grignon, Charles, at Fond du Lac (Lake Superior), 400, 401, 415, 440, 454-456, 469, 470; desires citizenship, 120; license revoked, 136; naturalized, 177, 178; license for, 202; trading in Wisconsin, 148, 149, 244, 245, 321, 323, 328, 332, 362, 375, 376; post, 372; clerk's contract, 312, 313, 392; illness, 192, 195; bad luck, 193; letters, 149, 150, 194-196; letters for, 268, 269; messages, 218, 224, 227, 304; sketch, 148, 312.
Grignon, Charles A., trader, 244.
Grignon, David H., aid acknowledged, 128.
Grignon, Domitelle (daughter of Charles), 195, 196; married, 193.
Grignon, Elizabeth, mentioned, 159.
Grignon, George, education, 226, 227.
Grignon, Hippolyte. See Paul Grignon.
Grignon, Jean Baptiste, wintering, 226, 232.
Grignon, Louis, desires citizenship, 120, 125; license revoked, 136; en route for wintering, 129-133, 136, 222-227; trading on Wisconsin, 145-147, 150, 157, 160-162; licenses for, 220, 282; joins Green Bay Company, 207, 210, 211, 239; visits Mississippi, 165; wintering, 232, 243, 290, 299, 300; at Green Bay, 167, 196, 316, 321, 324, 334; visits Indian villages, 268; discovers lead mine, 262; at Mackinac, 174, 175; property, 203, 358, 359; business plans, 184; desires to leave Wisconsin, 102, 103, 105; letters, 158, 159, 200, 216-219, 243-247, 307, 308; letters for, 108, 147-149, 153, 154, 156-158, 213, 234-237, 280, 281, 303, 304; messages, 155, 313; sketch, 103.
Grignon, Marguerite, 155, 193, 245.
Grignon, Mary, at Appleton, 227.
Grignon, Nancy McCrea (Macre), messages for, 194-196; sketch, 242.
Grignon, Paul (Hippolyte), trader, 193, 323, 326, 379; partner of, 355; at Green Bay, 318; administers estate, 302, 324; mentioned, 232, 245, 372; sketch, 193.
Grignon, Paul Jr., married, 100; affidavit, 358, 359; mentioned, 245.
Grignon, Perische, trader, 117, 327; son, 157.
Grignon, Perische Jr., interpreter, 281.
Grignon, Pierre Jr., employee, 393.
Grignon, Pierre Antoine (Fanfan), desires citizenship, 120; license revoked, 136; complaint, 138; merchant, 100, 133; joins Green Bay Company, 207, 210, 211, 214; agent for, 223, 239, 261, 262; visits Mackinac, 269; son of, 128; letters, 192-194, 232, 233; messages, 152, 218, 245; messages for, 145, 161, 195, 196, 243; relations with Eleazar Williams, 284; illness, 299; death, 301-304; sketch, 100.
Grignon, Pierre Bernard, trading, 128, 371, 372; letter, 241, 242; letter for, 129; sketch, 128.
Grignon, Pierre Louis, mentioned, 159.
Grignon, Robert, in danger, 193; at Butte des Morts, 388; message, 242; messenger, 372.
Grignon, Ursule, mentioned, 159.
Grignon brothers, traders, 56, 80, 93, 129, 200; messages for, 172, 222; mother dies, 319.
Grosvenor, Capt. George Henry, at Green Bay, 140.
Guidago, Indian messenger, 130.
Gum, for canoes, 400, 406, 411, 416, 417, 425, 460-462, 464.
Gunn, John, fur-trader, 145-147, 159, 185.
Gunpowder, used in trade, 200.

Hackett, ——, Selkirk's agent, 160, 164.
Haghâ. See Courtorelle.
Hakiwensy le Vieux, Indian creditor, 395.
Hamilton, Kitty Askin, letter for, 353.
Hamilton, Robert, Canadian merchant, 352, 353.
Hammond's Chute, site of post, 236.
Hampton Roads, fortified, 139.
Hancock County (Ill.), forts in, 228.

"Hanna," on Lake Michigan, 128.
Hanscom, H. H., aid acknowledged, xxi.
"Hardscrabble", on Chicago River, 182.
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, campaign of, 8.
Harrison, Gen. William H., in War of 1812–15, 8, 33, 139.
Hartford, site, 361.
Hartsell, ——, trader, 381.
Hay-ray-tshon-sarp. See Black Hawk (Winnebago).
Heald, Darius, narrative, 9.
Heald, Maj. Nathan, at Fort Dearborn, 2, 8, 9.
Heald, Rebecca Wells, at Fort Dearborn, 2, 8, 9.
Helena, site of, 147; shot-tower at, 221.
Helm, Lieut. Linai, captured, 228.
Henry, Alexander Jr., trader, 397, 398, 400, 430, 455.
Henry, William, trader, 429, 430.
"Hercules", wrecked, 92.
Heron, James E., sutler, 278.
Hillside, site of, 147.
Hionapas, ———, trader, 224.
Hish quoi ki gigue, Indian creditor, 394.
Hopkins, Lieut. ——, at Green Bay, 186.
Hopokoekaw. See Glory of the Morning.
Houle, Joseph, Green Bay habitant, 99, 132.
Houston County (Minn.), 146.
Hudson Bay Company, described, xviii, 96, 97; competition with, 23, 154, 306, 307, 398; contract with, 374; grant to Selkirk, 109, 110, 114; furs, 373; employees, 166, 178; absorbs North West Company, 160, 166, 203, 312.
Hull, Gen. William, at Detroit, 2; proclamation of, 6; governor, 88.
Hunt, ——, debts of, 176.
Hunt, George, fur-trader, 117.
Hunt, Col. John, Detroit lawyer, 170.
Hunt, Maj. Thomas, soldier, 117.
Hurlbut, Henry H., *Walk-in the-Water*, 245.

Illinois, territorial governor, 64, 228; Indians in, 237; fur-trade, 227, 377; frontier settlements, 386; becomes a state, 80.
Indiana, Indians of, 47.
Indians. See respective tribes.
Interpreters, difficult to secure, 13.
Invoices, of fur-trade, 392, 393.
Iowa, half-breed tract in, 357.
Iowa County, resident, 218.
Iowa Indians, visit British, 267; agent for, 228.
Irwin, Matthew, factor at Green Bay, 28, 34, 96, 104, 123, 225, 242; methods, 221; orders for, 64, 65, 198, 199, 233, 234; letter, 126; sketch, 28.
Irwin, Robert Jr., fur-trader, 284, 290, 319, 321, 323, 325; store, 327; signs bond, 107, 108; legislative representative, 319; sketch, 107.
Islands—
In Lake St. Croix, 407, 467.
In Lake Superior, 398, 470, 471.
In Mississippi River, 380.
In St. Croix River, 409, 466.
Cunningham (Green), 346.
Doty's, 267.
Drummond, 55, 133, 183; British post on, xii, 106; Indians visit, 141, 248, 249, 251–253; intercourse interdicted, 267, 298, 299; officials at, 90; smuggling from, 30; sketch, 202.
Encampment, 470.
Garlic, Indian village on, 350.
Grand, in Lake Superior, 343.
Green. See Cunningham.
Harper's, in Spooner Lake, 467.
Knife, in Lake Superior, 470.
Mackinac. See Mackinac.
Madelaine, 341.
Plaster, cession of, 182.
Rock (Rocky), agent at, 353, 356, 365, 374; traders, 357, 364, 367, 377.
Two, in Lake Superior, 470.
Itasca County (Minn.), 340.

Jackson, W., employee, 189, 217; drowned, 325.
"Jackson", Lake Michigan vessel, 226, 316, 317, 319.
Jackson County, Indians of, 143.
Jacobs, Jean Baptiste, mentioned, 56, 93; message to, 107; in Northwest, 155; trading, 176; at Milwaukee, 360, 361, 367, 368; teaching school, 222, 223, 226; sketch, 107.
Jamieson, John, Indian agent, 16.
Jaque, Isaac, employee, 281.
Jebon, Jean Baptiste, employee, 118.
Jenks, Albert E., "Wild Rice Gatherers", 406.
Johnson, Col. James, leases lead mines, 296.
Johnson, John W., factor at Prairie du Chien, 15, 28, 54, 58, 95, 102, 137,

175, 180, 187, 188, 221, 239; acting Indian agent, 167; finds canoe, 161; letter, 225; instruction for, 65, 66, 104, 105, 109, 198; defended, 62–64; sketch, 15.
Johnson, Col. R. M., congressman, 16.
Johnston, George, land-owner at Green Bay, 99; sheriff of Brown County, 256.
Johnston, Jane, married, 280.
Johnston, John, Indian agent at Fort Wayne, 49.
Johnston, John, at Sault Ste. Marie, 201, 202, 280.
Jouett, Charles, Indian agent, 49, 50.
Jourdain, Christine, married, 100.
Jourdain, Joseph, blacksmith, 100, 334, 339, 379, 392; portrait, 100; sketch, 100.
Jourdain, Madeleine, married, 100.

Kahoko, Indian creditor, 394.
Kakalin. See Kaukauna.
Kakwakishkakakog. See Lakes: Spooner.
Kaministiquia, fur-traders at, 396.
Kanabec County (Minn.), 404.
Kaouindache, Chippewa Indian, 415, 426, 431, 434, 441, 443.
Kashkakey, Indian creditor, 395.
Kaskawnone, Indian village, 361.
Kaukauna (Cacalin, Kakalin), rapids at, 119, 131; Indian village, 350; traders, 244, 363; Augustin Grignon, 369, 372; Houle, 99; letters from, 108, 192–194, 222, 223, 225, 241; invoice for, 392, 393; mills at, 194; picture of old house, 42.
Keaskeke, Indian site, 87.
Keeshkenum. See La Pierre á affiler.
Kekwabache, Indian creditor, 395.
Kekwatache, Indian creditor, 395.
Kellogg, Louise Phelps, aid acknowledged, xxi.
Kèmèone, Indian creditor, 395.
Kennerly, James, transportation agent, 109, 138, 187, 230, 231.
Keokuk (Iowa), site, 228, 357.
Keotuck, Sauk chief, portrait, 366.
Ketchimong. See Le Gros u hard, 394.
Kewaskum, Potawatomi chief, 361.
Kickapoo Indians, census of, 237; trading sites, 364.
Kieth, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 255.
Kimball, Mrs. Charles, aid acknowledged, xxi.
King, J. P., witness, 342.
Kingston (Ont.), visit to, 103.
Kinondaguié, Chippewa Indian, 466.
Kinongense, Chippewa Indian, 453, 454, 464.
Kinzie, Ellen, married, 276.
Kinzie, James, trader, 218, 254; uses liquor, 270, 271, 273, 275; punished, 276; at Milwaukee, 360, 367; sketch, 218.
Kinzie, John, Chicago trader, 227, 270; son of, 218; sketch, 183.
Kinzie, John H. Jr., report, 148; witness, 315.
Kinzie, Juliette A., *Wau-Bun*, 195, 267, 272, 276, 299, 316.
Kinzie family, at Chicago, 272.
Kitchekimanne, Chippewa Indian, 447, 453, 464.
Kitchikoky, Indian creditor, 394.
Kitchinakawe. See Grand Sable.
Kitchinimiscoutte, Chippewa Indian, 421, 422, 428, 432, 436, 437, 447; in drinking bout, 464; mother, 427, 457.
Kiwoltchitte, Indian messenger, 243.
Knaggs, James, trader, 195.
Knapp, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 213.
Konokah Decorah (Schachipkaka, War Eagle), Winnebago chief, 235, 236.
Kuskawoinanque, Indian village, 350.
Kywewesinse, Indian creditor, 394.
Ky whée, Indian creditor, 395.

L'Arbre Croche (Mich.), Ottawa Indian village, 21, 50, 182, 238.
La Bataille, Indian site, 408.
La Bathe, Francis, founds post, 235.
La Baye. See Green Bay.
Laborde, Jean Baptiste, Green Bay habitant, 90.
Laborgniéce, Menominee Indian, 395.
Lac du Flambeau, fur-trade district, 130, 341, 343; Indians from, 396, 425; traders, 397, 398.
La Comble, ——, employee, 130, 132.
Lacoude, ——, trader, 325.
Lacouleuvre, Indian creditor, 394.
Lac-qui-parle (Minn.), settler, 166.
La Croix, ——, North West clerk, 403, 429, 431, 435, 450, 451, 455; on drouine, 440, 452; freezes foot, 432, 444; sent to Fond du Lac, 443, 456.
La Croix, Louis, employee, 403.
La Crosse, Indians at, 267; traders, 146, 236.
La Dans le ne coupé, Indian creditor, 395.

Ladebauche, Pierre, employee, 118.
"Lady Elgin," lost, 176.
La Feuille. See Wabasha.
Lafortune, Ignace, employee, 214.
La Framboise, Indian creditor, 393, 395.
Laframboise, Mrs. Madeleine, fur-trader, 21, 217.
La Galette, Indian, 161.
Lagarde, ——, clerk of North West Company, 412, 429, 439, 440, 450, 465; on drouine, 453, 456.
Lagoterie, Edward, fur-trader, 21, 22.
Laisle Rouge. See Red Wing.
Lajeunesse, J., fur-trade engagé, 397, 398.
La Jotte hoshkènan nanhotame, Indian creditor, 394.
Lake County (Minn.), streams in, 470.
Lakes—
Athabasca, 455.
Big, on the Brulé, 405.
Big Stone, 36, 173.
Buffalo, in Fox River, 157, 188, 224, 363, 388.
Cedar, 146.
Chetac, post on, 343.
Clam (Shell), 414, 417, 418; Indian village on, 421; hunting, 420, 426, 449.
Cochrane's, on the Brulé, 405.
Court Oreilles, 343, 456.
Des Sables. See Sandy.
Du Bœuf. See Buffalo.
Erie, 35, 36, 48, 245, 312.
Flambeau. See Lac du Flambeau.
Great, as boundary, 18, 28, 61; posts on, 311.
Great Slave, 455.
Gros Roche. See Big Stone.
Huron, 7, 30, 397,
Jaune. See Yellow.
Keesus, in Wisconsin, 28.
La Coquille. See Clam.
La Pluie. See Rainy.
Leech (La Sangsue), traders at, 340, 343, 430, 453.
Little Butte des Morts, 100.
Lucius, on the Brulé, 405.
Michigan, 1, 140, 295; as a boundary, 19, 40; affluents, 21, 47, 48; Indians near, 50; wreck on, 245; smuggling on, 30; traders on, 271.
Mud. See Spooner.
Pike, Indian village on, 361.
Poygan (Powoihygand), 129, 194, 195.
Puckaway, 362.
Rainy (La Pluie), 112, 343, 454.
Red (Minn.), 116, 154, 343, 400.
Rice (Folle Avoine), on Yellow River, 396, 418.
Rouge. See Red.
Round, trading post on, 343.
St. Claire, 7.
Sal, post on, 112.
Sandy (des Sables), 343, 454.
Shawano (Chawanon), 394, 395; Indians near, 322, 350; traders, 278, 376.
Shell (La Coquille). See Clam.
Spooner (Mud, Vaseux), 467.
Spring, on the Brulé, 405.
Sucker, on the Brulé, 405.
Superior, 146; watershed, 112; as a boundary, 23; officials visit, 201; liquor in, 383, 384; fur-trade, 19, 25; smuggling, 30; Indians from, 249; traders on, 155, 176–179, 272, 279, 306, 307, 312; trading sites, 343; trader's boats, 397, 401, 468–471.
Traverse, 165, 166.
Two Mountains, 183.
Upper St. Croix, 405–407, 467.
Vaseux (Mud). See Spooner.
Vermillion, 343.
Winnebago, 139, 140, 225; wild-rice in, 143; Indian villages on, 141, 142, 149, 299, 323, 350; traders on, 355, 361.
Winnipeg, 160, 397, 398, 400.
Woods (of the), 28, 109, 112.
Yellow (Jaune), 410, 413, 424, 426, 461, 462; fishing in, 417, 431, 444, 445, 450, 463; sketch, 413.
La Laine, Indian village, 148–150.
La Loutre, Indian creditor, 394.
La Marche, Charles, fur-trade engagé, 400.
La Meckoiganne (Namai Kowagon), Indian site, 408, 420, 460, 461, 463, 465–467.
La mer de Daigle, Chippewa Indian, 436.
La Motier du Jour, Indian creditor, 394.
Land titles, at Green Bay, 183.
Langevin, Jean Baptiste, message for, 161; message from, 243; endangered, 193; married, 319.
Langevin, Madame Louise Domitelle Langlade, messages for, 155, 161; ill, 193, 196, 243, 301; death, 319; house, 324.
Langlade, Charles, British land-grants, 217; daughter, 319; nephew, 357.

Langlade, Louise. See Langevin.
Langlois, ——, employee, 148.
Laperche, Joseph, naturalized, 177. See also St. Jean.
La Petite Martre, Chippewa Indian, 418, 419, 426.
La Petite Rivière, dresses skins, 462; makes gum, 464.
La petite telle, Menominee Indian, 395.
La Pierre á affiler (Keeshkenum), Chippewa Indian, 425, 428, 431, 432, 441; wounded, 464.
La pituelle, term explained, 457, 458.
La pluie, Indian creditor, 395.
La Pointe, Indian village, 428, 430; fur-trade at, 341, 343, 400, 401, 444, 469; trail to, 402, 403.
Lapointe, Charles Prairie du Chien pioneer, 160, 161.
La Prairie, ——, North West clerk, 399, 403, 408, 409, 415, 416, 419, 435, 440, 441, 450, 451, 453, 457, 465; house and post, 410, 413–415, 418, 420, 446, 449; camping, 460, 462, 463, 467; on drouine, 423, 425, 426, 428; letter from, 403; sketch, 399; son, 447, 448, 468; mother-in-law, 433.
Larned, Capt. Benjamin F., at Prairie du Chien, 169.
La Rock, John, aid acknowledged, xxi, 402, 405, 461.
La Rocque, Bazile, at Green Bay, 99.
La Rose, ——, messenger, 302.
La Rose, Alexis, trader, 186, 220; sketch, 186.
La Rose, Ignace, interpreter, 186; wife, 246.
Lasley, Samuel, fur-trader, 360.
Lasley, William, fur-trader, 360.
La tete Blanche, Indian creditor, 395.
La tete de Biche. See Owanpago.
Latonah, ——, employee, 148.
La Tortu, Menominee Indian, 394.
Lantier, Jacques, employee, 118.
La Vielle Siouse, killed, 464.
La vieule chate, Menominee Indian, 393.
Lavigne, Jean Baptiste, farmer, 159.
Laviolette, Gabriel Attina *dit*, death, 429, 430, 443, 455.
Laviolette, Julian, employee, 281.
Lawe, David, ill, 227.
Lawe, John, fur-trader, 34; agent for Green Bay Company, 207, 210, 211, 213, 214, 239, 283, 291, 312, 313, 318, 326, 329, 330, 340, 388, 392; transportation agent, 172–175, 196–198; goods of, 246; letters by, 90–93, 99–101, 130, 131, 147–149, 151, 152, 183–185, 220–222, 225–227, 245, 280–282, 303, 304, 308–310, 318–324, 326–329, 331–334, 336–339, 351–358, 381, 382; communications to, 42, 51, 53, 55, 56, 80, 81, 119, 129, 132, 133, 145–147, 149–151, 155, 157–162, 164–166, 176, 185, 186, 200, 201, 222–225, 302, 303, 307, 308, 360, 361, 367–371, 377; house, 362; complaints by, 277, 278, 325; naturalized, 120, 125, 162; interpreter, 117; witness, 213; at Mackinac, 269, 378–380; appeals to Dousman, 246; hears of copper mine, 262; promissory note, 136; desires to leave Green Bay, 103, 105–107.
Lawe, Mrs. John, message for, 330.
Lawe, Rachel L., message for, 330; married, 128.
Lawrence, Roderick, fur-trader, 130–132, 136, 161, 184; tent burns, 162; letters, 145, 157; plans, 146; post, 147; message for, 153, 156, 158; leaves post, 158, 159; sketch, 130.
Lawrence, Col. William, at Mackinac, 134; message for, 171.
Lawse, ——, employee, 155.
Lead, mines discovered, 262; Indians at, 63, 228, 296; bought for liquor, 71.
Leavenworth, Col. Henry, punishes Winnebago, 168, 171.
Le Blanc. See Provençal.
Le Bœuf, Chippewa Indian, 428, 434, 435, 442, 461, 465, 466.
Le Brave. See Oshkosh.
Le Brochet, Chippewa Indian, 407, 419, 421, 422, 424, 425, 456.
Le Clair, Michel, employee, 220.
Le Corbeau, Chippewa Indian, 435, 437, 442, 443, 447–449, 453.
Lecuyer, Jacques, employee, 325, 363.
Lecuyer, Jean, messenger, 268; son, 224.
Lecuyer family, at Portage, 318.
Le deau de la Jambe noir, Indian creditor, 394.
Ledlie, ——, from Red River, 160.
Lee, ——, Mackinac lawyer, 346, 348.
Lee, Charles, murdered, 182.
Lee, Col. Isaac, at Green Bay, 196; settles land claims, 183, 184; sketch, 183.
Leepheart, Andrew, license for, 107, 108.
Le Fils de la Petite Riviere, Chippewa Indian, 436, 447.
Le Gaucher. See Neman Tshi.
Le Glant. See Mitigomin.

Le Grand Fou, Chippewa Indian, 415, 425, 432, 435–438, 440, 442; ill, 420; stabbed, 464; wife, 428, 437.
Le Grande Mâle, Chippewa Indian, 403, 409, 416, 418–420, 422, 423, 426; wife, 424; son, 465; son killed, 412; kills relatives, 463. See also Le Vieux Mâle.
Le Grand Razeur, Chippewa Indian, 403, 404, 410, 431–433, 435, 437–439, 441. See also Razeurs.
Le Gros Dos, Chippewa Indian, 418.
Le Gros u hard, Indian creditor, 394.
Le Jeune Corbeau, death, 421, 422.
Le Jeune Razeur, Indian creditor, 428–432, 437, 438, 441, 447, 448. See also Razeurs.
Lemieux, Joseph, employee, 392.
Le pallieur, Michel, Milwaukee trader, 360.
Le petit Gallet, on St. Croix River, 409, 466.
Le petit Loup, Chippewa Indian, 409, 431, 432, 441, 449.
Le petit Mâle, Chippewa Indian, 403–405, 412–414, 417, 419, 423, 424, 437, 438; wife, 412, 422; daughter, 415, 416, 418, 419.
Le Petit Noir, Chippewa Indian, 429, 431, 441.
Le Petit Rocher, Chippewa Indian, 422–424, 456.
Le Pique Bois d'hiver, Indian creditor, 394.
Le Plat. See Plat Coté.
Le Raisin, Indian creditor, 394.
Le Sel, Chippewa Indian, 415, 416, 423, 433, 437.
Les Grands Oreilles, Chippewa Indian, 414, 415.
Le Signe, Indian creditor, 394.
Les Quatre Jambes. See Four Legs.
L'Etang, ——, fur-trader, 453, 469.
Le tems Claire, Indian creditor, 394.
Letourneau, Winnebago Indian, 393.
Letourneaux Tokanny, Indian creditor, 394.
Levake, Henry A., Lake Superior trader, 280.
L'Evêque family, 280.
Le Viel, Chippewa Indian, 436.
Le Vieux Mâle, Chippewa Indian, 422, 448. See also Le Grand Mâle.
Le Vieux Mauvais Oiseau, Chippewa Indian, 415, 419–421.
Le vieux Sourd, Chippewa Indian, 462, 466.
Levy, ——, merchant, 53.
Lewis, J. O., paints Indian portrait, 299.
L'Hiver, Chippewa Indian, 414, 415.
Licenses (fur-trade), prices for, 19, 20, 88–90; regulations, 13, 14, 42–47, 61, 85, 86; bonds, 107, 108, 346; proposed, 77–79, 279, 280, 289, 290; first system, 77; evils of system, 62; new system, 163, 164, 181, 229, 263, 264, 339, 340, 344; not issued to foreigners, 91, 127, 128, 133, 135, 136; within agency boundaries, 48, 49, 374, 375; must be respected, 103; revoked, 125, 127, 135–137, 162, 163, 184, 186, 294, 346–348; issued for Green Bay, 313; Milwaukee, 361; Prairie du Chien, 356–358, 366; for the Grignons, 202, 220, 281, 282; Lockwood, 118.
Lighty, W. H., aid acknowledged, xxi.
Lincoln, Pres. Abraham, appointment, 316.
Lindsay, Col. Crawford, aid acknowledged, xxi, 440, 458.
Liquor, sale prohibited in Indian country, 17, 79, 86, 87, 90, 108, 118, 227–230, 243, 253, 291–297, 305; illegally introduced, 21, 57, 116, 167, 169, 182, 183, 294, 295, 346, 359, 360, 374, 375; evil effects, 37, 70, 71, 85, 105, 307–309, 383–387; penalties, 269, 279; vendor detected, 233, 270–276; permits granted, 306, 307; furs sold for, 377, 387, 388; high wines, 384, 399.
Little Chute, first settler, 226.
Little Kaukauna (Kakalin), Indian village at, 349.
Little Prairie, on Brulé, 404.
Little Turtle, Miami chief, 8, 9.
Lizotte, François, fur-trade engagé, 397, 398.
Lizotte, Joseph, fur-trade engagé, 397.
Lizotte brothers, 470.
Lockwood, James H., fur-trader, 42, 52, 150, 167, 173, 321, 369; licensed, 118; outfits traders, 302, 303.
Locque ten Rhome, messenger, 192.
Long, Stephen H., voyage, 228.
Long Knives, origin of term, 9.
Longwar, Antoine, affidavit, 271, 273.
L'Otonaganne Chippewa Indian, 461.
Louisiana, Spanish regime in, 137.
Louisianaville (Mo.), resident, 22; letter from, 274.
Louison, Indian creditor, 195.
Louisville (Ky.), Indian affairs near, 8.
Loup cervier (Lynx Canadensis), described, 441.

Loup noir. See Black Wolf.
L'ours blanc. See White Bear.
Lucius, Joseph, aid acknowledged, xxi, 402, 404–406.
Lusignan, ——, trader, 148, 149, 394.
Lynxes, varieties, 441, 442.

Macalester College, *Contributions*, 397.
McBean, John, fur-trader, 399, 401; at Fond du Lac, 469, 470; sketch, 398.
McCaskill Falls. See Falls: Sandstone.
Maccatais Pininse, Indian creditor, 394.
McDougall, Capt. Alexander, identifies sites, 405.
McGulpin, George, fur-trader, 206.
McGulpin, Henry B., at Green Bay, 369, 370; at Oconto, 376, 377.
McGulpin, Madeleine Crequé, death, 320.
McGulpin, Patrick, at Mackinac, 206; wife, 320.
McIntosh, William, captured, 160.
Mack, Col. Stephen, Detroit merchant, 81.
Mack & Conant, Detroit merchants, 81; failure, 226.
McKay, Col. Alexander, message from, 201; expedition, 299.
McKenney, Col. Thomas L., superintendent of Indian trade, advertises furs, 187; defends factory system, xvi–xviii, 37–41, 66–79, 190–192, 240; report on factories, 163, 203–205, 215, 219; closing factories, 266; information for, 349–351; forwards letter, 385; letters by, 12–16, 34, 54, 58, 59, 62–68, 96–99, 104, 105, 137, 138, 175, 179–181, 187, 188, 198, 199, 230, 231, 233, 234, 256, 257.
Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, head of X Y Company, 399, 439, 467, 468; letter from, 400.
McKenzie, Elizabeth, Indian captive, 270.
Mackinac (Michilimackinac), residents, 33, 89, 206, 304, 317, 403; fur-traders at, xi, xiii, 21–23, 25, 26, 35, 52, 53, 55, 72, 83, 84, 106, 174, 203, 210, 213, 262, 269, 271, 277, 286, 308, 310, 311, 314, 315, 319, 335, 337, 342, 345–348, 351, 372, 378, 381; Indian agents at, 13, 44, 48, 61, 88–90, 103, 105, 116, 118, 119, 127, 134, 170, 201, 251, 280; Indians at, 7, 62, 141, 238, 249–251, 261, 267; liquor selling, 270, 297, 305, 383–385; goods at, 241, 261; military affairs, 89, 134, 217; navigation, 245, 303; justice of the peace, 273, 274, 341, 342; naturalization, 177–179; collectors, 121, 297, 305; smuggling, 30; seizures, 18; tavern-keeper, 360; winter mails, 328, 334; provisions, 80, 81; blankets described, 287, 288; in War of 1812–15, xiii, 2, 32, 139, 155, 360; view, 168; Register, 272, 356.
McKinzie. See Kinzie.
McMahon, Dr. J. P. Coulant, surgeon at Green Bay, 145; message for, 155, 166.
McTavish, John George, captured, 160; goes to Pacific, 455.
Maddison, Dr. William S., army surgeon, 126; Indians attack, 140, 144.
Mails, routes for, 350, 371.
Maitland, Sir Peregrine, governor of Canada, 106, 165.
Makataioquètonse, Indian creditor, 394.
Malden, Indians visit, 248, 249, 251–253, 383; Indians forbidden to visit, 266, 267.
Malhiot, François Victor, journal, 396, 398, 425.
Manaigre, Louis, messenger, 99.
Manester, Ottawa village, 50.
Mangeur de Folle, Indian creditor, 394.
Manichinse, large animal, 437, 440, 449.
Manigance, pays credit, 460.
Manitoba, Indians of, 112; Selkirk settlement, xix, xx.
Manitou, Chippewa Indian, 453.
Manitowoc, hostilities at, 140, 141; traders, 318, 323, 328, 332, 337, 360; Indians near, 350.
Maranda. See Mirandeau.
Marice de Gro Rat, Indian creditor, 280.
Marinette, site, 176.
Marquette County, lake in, 188.
Marson, Jean B., employee, 220.
Marston, Maj. Morrill, at Fort Armstrong, 168, 171.
Martin, F., employee, 281.
Martin, Morgan L., cited, 176, 312.
Masca. See Dominique Brunette.
Maskegon Indians, described, 112.
Macon, ——, Detroit merchant, 81.
Mason, John W., merchant, 148, 174, 175; witness, 210.
Masson, L. R., papers, 396, 397; *Le Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord Ouest*, 397, 398, 430, 438, 444, 454.
Matchiga le Grand, Indian creditor, 394.
Mathew, Charles, employee, 118.
Matthews, William W., mentioned, 308.

Matthey, Capt. Frederick, Selkirk's agent, 111.
Mauvaise Hache. See Bad Axe.
Mayatt, François, employee, 118.
Mayrand (Mayrant), Jean Baptiste, employee, 118, 161, 246; naturalized, 177; sketch, 146, 147.
Mazzuchelli, Rev. Samuel, missionary, 226.
Meade, Mary, married, 244.
Mecanne, fur-trade site, 388.
Medicine, made by Indians, 415, 431; rites for, 420, 421.
Menagre. See Manaigre.
Menard, Louis, employee, 118.
Menbaso, Indian creditor, 395.
Mendota (Minn.), resident, 174; traders at, 197.
Menominee (Folle Avoine) Indians, villages, 148-150, 323, 365; hunting grounds, 35, 36, 52, 53, 161, 217, 221; census, 50, 237, 238, 349, 350; information desired, 126; interpreter, 244; payment, 244; connection with fur-trade, 129, 146, 147, 202, 308, 314, 315, 376, 393-395; at Peshtigo, 334; Prairie du Chien, 282; Rock Island, 364; Upper Wisconsin, 362; in War of 1812-15, 281; attack soldiers, 140; treaty with New York Indians, 284; to be removed, xix, xx, 106, 112.
Mer Sauvage, Indian, 196.
Meros-e-wingin. See La Bataille.
Merton, Indian village near, 281.
Messeganne, Chippewa Indian, 407, 408, 448, 449.
Metchquinoitte, Indian creditor, 391.
Metevier, Gabriel, employee, 118.
Methodist, missionary, 218.
Miami Indians, captive with, 8, 9; escort Wells, 9.
Michetois, Winnebago Indian, 129.
Michigan, Indians of, 238; Indian cessions, 218; university trustee, 124; bank, 124; *Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 357, 397, 400, 401, 403, 404, 453.
Michigan Territory, extent, 387; establishes counties, 293; Porlier in, 121; officials, 183; Congressional delegate, 374.
"Michigan," Lake Michigan schooner, 319.
Michilimackinac County (Mich.), officials, 341, 345-348; court records, 197.
Michilimackinac Fur Company, history of, xi, 96, 97.
Miller, Col. John, at Mackinac, 89.
Milliette, Claude, fur-trade engagé, 397, 398.
Mills, on Menominee River, 176; flour at Kaukauna, 193, 194.
Milwaukee, Indians in Chicago agency, 48, 367, 368; Indians near, 350; trade at, 176, 216-218, 233, 328, 342; traders, 360, 361; liquor sold, 182, 183, 270-275; American Fur Company, 278.
"Minerva," Lake Michigan schooner, 303, 308, 319.
Minneiska (Minn.), site, 235.
Minnesota, in Selkirk's grant, 110; boundary, 466; trading posts, 154; traders, 174; territorial legislature, 197; first school, 340; *Historical Collections*, 228, 258, 396, 403, 404, 408, 428.
Minnouche, Indian creditor, 394.
Mirandeau, Genevieve, 272.
Mirandeau (Maranda), Jean Baptiste, Milwaukee trader, 272.
Mirandeau, Madeleine, married, 270.
Mirandeau, Tomah, 272.
Mirandeau, Victoire, 272.
Mishaquoite. See Le tems Claire.
Mishlen, Louis, employee, 220; deserts, 247.
Missions, on the Mississippi, 330; in Minnesota, 166, 218.
Missouri, territorial governor, 180; Indian agent, 24; early settlers, 356; illegal trade, 377; Historical Society, xxi, 137.
Mitchell, Madame, Mackinac trader, 81.
Mitigomin, Indian creditor, 394.
Mocock, term explained, 457.
Monroe County (Mich.), pioneers, 195, 280; officials, 183.
Montreal, fur-trade mart, xi, 25, 35, 93, 455; traders visit, 352.
Mooers, Hazen, fur-trader, 118, 172, 173.
Morains, Indian village, 47.
Moreau, ——, employee, 146, 150.
Moreaux, ——, Prairie du Chien pioneer, 161.
Morgan, Lewis, bond signer, 107, 108; letters, 139.
Morgan, Major Willoughby, at Prairie du Chien, 21, 366; Rock Island, 24; describes abuses in Indian country, 291-297; action against, 389, 390.
Morrell, ——, trader, 233.
Morrison, William, trader, 23, 116; naturalized, 177.

Morse, Rev. Jedediah, report on Indians, xvii.
MOUNTAINS—
Rocky, 28, 109.
Trempealeau, trading site, 160, 162, 365; post near, 230.
Munigance, Chippewa Indian, 447.
Muscoda, trader at, 197.
Muskegon (Mich.), trader at, 360.

NAHKAW. See Caramaunee.
Nanbishé, Indian creditor, 393.
Naturalization, provisions for, 121–125, 127–129, 132, 135, 171, 172, 185; papers, 147, 177–179; granted, 215, 216. See also Foreigners.
Navarino, platted, 221.
Navarre, Catharine, married, 312.
Neill, Edward D., "St. Croix Valley," 397.
Nelson, George, X Y Company clerk, 398, 400.
Neman Tshi, Indian creditor, 395.
Nenbennoi, Chippewa Indian, 418, 420, 423, 437, 438, 441.
Neokotah. See Four Legs.
New York City, goods from, 5; *Courier and Enquirer*, 271.
New York Indians, treaty with, 284; troublesome, 290. See also Stockbridge.
Niagara, Dickson at, 111; Canadians, 352.
Nigan na couâme, Indian creditor, 394.
Nolin, Augustin, trader, 155.
Non-Importation Act, effect on fur-trade, 5.
North Dakota, in Selkirk's grant, 110; *Historical Collections*, 110.
North West Fur Company, capital, 96, 97, 99; headquarters, 396; partners, 89, 454, 455; employees, 155, 178, 312, 397–400, 430, 450; traders, 403, 412, 455; furs, 33; Yellow River post, 410, 412, 415; brigade captured, 160; struggle with Selkirk, 106; rivalry with Hudson's Bay Company, 154; unites therewith, 160, 166, 203.
Northern Pacific Railway, 404.
Northwest boundary, settled, 109.
Northwest Territory, council of, 124.
Nuit Noire, Indian, 149, 150.
Nunns, Annie A., aid acknowledged, xxi.

OAK POINT, on boundary, 47.
O'Brien, C. D., aid acknowledged, xxi, 402, 404.
Oconto, traders at, 376, 377.
O'Fallon, Benjamin, Indian agent, 24, 29, 389, 390.
O'Fallon, Capt. John, resigns from army, 51, 52.
Ogden, ——, lawyer, 162, 163.
Ohio, Indian tribes of, 47.
Oky tak, Indian creditor, 395.
Old, bird of bad omen, 411.
Oliva, Frederic, fur-trader, 93.
Onanguisais, Indian creditor, 394.
Onaquésepka. See Le deau de la Jambe noir.
Onoxa (Five Medals), Potawatomi chief, 8.
O Opechaie, Indian creditor, 395.
Opanago, Potawatomi Indian, 393.
Oregon, fur-traders in, 455.
Osage Indians, fort for, 27; treaties with, 68, 76, 257; visit British, 267.
Oshkosh, Indian creditor, 394.
Oshkosh, site, 299; ferry at, 195.
Oskininy, Indian, 161.
Ottawa Indians, village of, 21; census, 50, 237, 349, 350; assigned to agency, 47, 48; obey agents, 345, 346; annuities, 285; missionary for, 218; marry whites, 272.
Ouabigue, Chippewa Indian, 448, 465, 467.
Ouagammé, Chippewa Indian, 447.
Ouaisza, Chippewa Indian, 407, 408, 412–415, 418, 420, 422, 433, 435, 437, 447, 448; brings meat, 423.
Owanpago, Indian creditor, 394.
Owl, imitated by Sioux, 444.

PAKOUAYAWIN (Pakouiawin), on Yellow River, 441, 449, 461.
Pakouijawin, on Brulé River, 405.
Pammiconanan, Indian creditor, 393.
Paquette, Pierre, at Portage, 197.
Parc Vache. See Cowpen.
Parkman Club, *Papers*, 284.
Paso, Ocaman, at Milwaukee, 360.
Pataille, messenger, 391.
Payedigigue, Chippewa Indian, 409, 421, 422, 429, 441, 447, 457; in drinking fray, 464.
Peaslee, C. W., aid acknowledged, xxi, 408, 467.
Peck, B. F., aid acknowledged, xxi, 410, 413.

Pekamin, Indian creditor, 393, 395.
Peltier, Louis, employee, 281.
Pembina, trading site, 343.
Pensaukee, significance of name, 349.
Peoria (Ill.), trader at, 227.
Perrault, Jean B., trader, 397; partners, 430; narrative, 403, 453.
Perry, Oliver H., fleet of, 312.
Peshtigo, significance of name, 334.
Petail, ——, employee, 300.
Petetan, ——, messenger, 382.
Pewettinete. See La Pluie.
"Phoebe," Lake Michigan schooner, 324.
Pic, fur-trade department, 398.
Pichinami, Chippewa Indian, 435, 462.
Pichiquequi, Chippewa Indian, 418, 420, 421, 423, 424, 432, 436, 437, 440, 446, 447; band, 461; lodge, 448, 449, 453; made chief, 464; hunts, 465; pays credit, 463; wife, 458; child dies, 460; in drunken bout, 464.
Pichou (*Lynx rufus*), described, 442.
Pienault, Indian creditor, 394.
Pike, Lieut. Z. M., Mississippi expedition, xii, 146, 330, 356, 357; interpreter, 165.
Pim man nan, Indian creditor, 393.
Pine Bend, traders at, 147.
Pine City (Minn.), 404.
Pine County (Minn.), 404; stream in, 466.
Pinkney, ——, lawyer, 162, 163.
Pinkney, Col. Ninian, commandant at Green Bay, 305.
Pipikwewesainse, Indian creditor, 395.
Piqua (Ohio), Indian agency, 47, 238.
Pizanne, Edward, Rolette's clerk, 314.
Plaset, ——, employee, 148.
Plat Coté, Chippewa Indian, 425, 430, 441.
Plus, term explained, 149.
Poisson doré, in inland lakes, 437, 451.
Poncenville, Leon, employee, 282.
Pond, Peter, discoveries, 455.
Pontiac (Mich.), founded, 81.
"Pontiac," Lake Michigan vessel, 210, 290, 324, 329, 368.
Porlier, Joseph Jacques, fur-trader, 22, 56, 80, 93, 108, 113, 196, 290, 304, 316, 369; contract, 355; indebted to American Fur Co., 335; retail store, 380; at Green Bay, 269, 327, 328; joins Green Bay Fur Co., 206, 207, 209–211, 214, 239; wintering, 147, 153, 154, 156–158, 165, 188–190, 319–326, 329, 331–334, 337–339, 362, 363, 369, 376, 378, 379, 382, 387, 388, 391; credit, 212; license revoked, 135–137; desires to leave Green Bay, 105–107, 111, 112; warned against Red River colony, 113, 114; land grant, 203; witness, 313; naturalized, 121–123, 128, 135, 171, 172, 215, 216; appointed judge, 185; pays territorial tax, 256; letters by, 93–95, 233, 245, 257–260, 283–285, 301; letters to, 154, 155, 254, 255, 282, 290, 291, 303, 307, 308, 326–329, 382, 388, 396.
Porlier, Madame Joseph Jacques, ill, 308, 320.
Porlier, Paul (Hippolyte), fur-trader, 153, 156, 321, 335, 338.
Portage. See Portages: Fox-Wisconsin.
PORTAGES:—
Brulé's mouth, 402.
Chicago-Desplaines, 182.
Des Sioux, treaties at, 293.
Fox-Wisconsin, 48, 126, 132, 136; as boundary, 248; Indians at, 267, 299, 300, 306; white residents, 157, 224; fur-trade at, 159, 189, 196, 197, 217, 227, 232, 234–237, 243, 245, 262, 268, 269, 278, 299, 301, 318, 323, 328, 333, 339, 362, 376, 378, 388, 392; transportation, 225; land claim, 324; garrison needed, 144.
Grand, trade at, 343.
Kaukauna, 119.
Lake Superior-Mississippi, 146.
St. Croix-Brulé, 405–407, 468.
Soo, on Yellow River, 411.
Porte des Morts. See Death's Door.
Pot, term explained, 401.
Potawatomi Indians, census, 50, 237, 349, 350; villages raided, 8; credits, 393–395; annuities paid, 3, 4, 285; near Milwaukee, 361; at Rock Island, 364; in War of 1812–15, 228.
Pothier, Alex, employee, 281.
Powell, Peter, fur-trader, 56, 108, 154, 330, 331; wife in trade, 388; sketch, 108.
Powell, William, "Recollections," 148, 267.
Prairie á la Crosse. See La Crosse.
Prairie du Chien, location, 19; described, 292; inhabitants, 28, 59, 60, 157, 217, 233, 258, 260, 265; census, 60; fur-trade at, xi, xiii, xiv, xx, 42, 51, 52, 55, 72, 145–147, 152, 159, 220, 234, 274, 303, 304, 313–315, 319, 326, 331, 369; factory system, 13, 15, 27, 28, 54, 58, 83, 95, 137, 175, 179–181, 187, 221, 230, 231, 257, 320; Indians,

92, 156, 298; councils, 267, 330, 357, 380; agency, 24, 62, 127, 215, 248, 366, 375; fort, xiii, 21, 22, 92, 168, 310, 389; in War of 1812–15, xii, 203, 267, 299, 389; land claims, 183, 184; liquor sold, 167, 169, 291, 294, 297, 383, 385; visited by Red River delegates, 160, 164–166, 170, 171; Pike at, xii, 357; Selkirk, 110; floods, 267, 268; transportation, 172–174, 221, 321, 338; cattle-driving, 110, 112; not in Indian territory, 387; Indian title extinguished, 60; view of fort, 58.
Prices, of furs, 71, 181, 316, 322, 325, 329, 336–338, 372, 373; licenses, 88–90; provisions, 302; tallow (bear), 189.
Prophet, Shawnee chief, 267.
Provençal, Louis Carbonneau (Le Blanc) *dit*, trader, 174.
Provost, Charles, employee, 118.
Puant Indians. See Winnebago.
Puthuff, William Henry, Indian agent, 18–21, 23, 49, 50, 61; complained of, 25, 26; justification, 88–90; suspects traders, 105; Mackinac justice, 273, 274; letter from, 33; licenses traders, 389; superseded, 116.

QUAIFE, Milo M., cited, 7.
Quebec, traders visit, 352.
Queenston, in Upper Canada, 352.
Quincy (Ill.), fur-trade near, 227.

RACINE, fur-trade post at, 218.
Raisin Decorah, Winnebago chief, 267.
Ransom, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 219.
RAPIDS—
On Brulé, 404.
Cedars, in Brulé, 468.
Falls, 405.
Fish Dam, 408.
Kettle, 414
Little Joe, 404, 405.
Nebagamon, 405.
St. Croix, 409, 411, 414, 466.
Sleeping Bear, 405.
Vassal, 405.
Wild Cat, 405.
Winnebago, Indian village at, 100, 350.
Yellow River, 414, 437, 458, 459, 461, 463.
See also Falls.
Rascal Decorah, Winnebago chief, 267.
Razeurs, band of, 409, 412, 417, 418, 425, 426, 440, 441, 465–467. See also Le Grand Razeur and Le Jeune Razeur.
Reaume, Alexis, fur-trader, 400.
Réaume, Judge Charles, sketch, 194.
Reaume, Joseph, North West trader, 400, 401, 403, 404, 408, 410, 415, 430; in St. Croix portage, 407; on Snake River, 412, 416, 429, 431, 443, 448, 450; en route, 463–465, 467–469; sketch, 400.
Red River settlement, 170, 227; inhabitants, 186; conditions, 235; provisioned, 160, 161, 197; crops fail, 165; troubles, 113, 114; news from, 374. See also Selkirk and Rivers: Red.
Red Wing, Sioux chief, 330.
Relle, Constant, employee, 118.
Renville, Joseph, sketch, 165.
Revenue cutter, recommended, 30, 31.
Ribbon (Ruban), Menominee chief, 363.
Rice (wild—*Zizania aquatica*), food for Indians, 91, 135, 143, 403, 404, 406; prices, 417.
Richard, Father Gabriel, 223; delegate to Congress, 319, 373; letter for, 227.
Richmond, duke of, governor of Canada, 90, 106.
Rider, ——, Green Bay trader, 327.
RIVERS—
Amnicon (La Meckanne), 469.
Arkansas, post on, 39.
Assiniboine, trading on, 155.
Athabasca, 455.
Au Baptême. See Baptism.
Au Bœuf. See Ox Creek.
Au Embarrass. See Zumbro.
Au Sable, 48, 50.
Au Serpent, 404.
Aux Epinette. See Spruce.
Baptism, 470.
Baraboo, Indian village on, 235.
Black, traders on, 236, 245, 246, 299; post on, 365, 366.
Blanchard's Fork, 47.
Brulé, voyage via, 401–406; upper course, 468; descent, 468, 469.
Brulé (of Minnesota), 471.
Calumet, wreck near, 92.
Canton. See Oconto.
Cheyenne, post on, 173.
Chicago, mouth, 182; north branch, 270; route via, 2; traders on, 87.
Chippewa, proposed factory on, 40; trading site, 343.

Rivers (continued)—
Clam (Kayesikang, Shell), described, 414; Indians on, 425.
Columbia, fur-trade on, 374; Astorian party, 444.
Crow Wing, 343, 430.
Deadman's, 47, 48, 50.
Des Moines, mouth, 228; Indians on, 92, 267; factory, 101, 102; traders, 356, 358, 364, 366, 377, 378.
Desplaines. See Portages.
Detroit, 245; as boundary, 7.
Eau Claire, 417.
Eau Claire, of St. Croix, 407.
Elkhart, Indian village on, 8.
Fever, traders on, 356–358, 363, 364, 367, 375, 377; lead mines, 296.
Fox (Rénard), 48, 119, 130, 141, 193, 195, 202; widening in, 188; route via, 294; Indians on, 143, 144, 350; post, 250, 349; traders, 217, 220, 355, 356; trading, 281, 308; mills, 244; transportation, 100, 101, 151, 152, 324.
Fox-Wisconsin, improvement, 381.
Goose. See Pensaukee.
Grand (Mich.), Indians from, 50, 345; traders on, 21, 217, 218.
Illinois, route via, 2; Indians of, 50; traders on, 217, 381; proposed factory, 40.
Iowa, Sioux village on, 365.
Jaune. See Yellow.
Kalamazoo, Indians of, 50.
Kankakee, 47.
Kayesikang. See Clam.
Kettle, 453; traders at, 464.
Kickapoo, trading on, 154, 156.
La Chaudière. See Kettle.
La Meckanne. See Amnicon.
Lemonweir (La Manai), traders on, 362; trading, 156, 157.
Little Brulé, 404.
Little Maquoketa, 380.
Loup. See Wolf.
Manitowoc, Indians near, 350.
Menominee, Indians on, 349; hunting, 148; traders, 176, 193, 214, 226, 232, 278, 332, 337, 358, 359, 377.
Menominee (Milwaukee), 361.
Miami (Maumee), 2, 7, 9; Indians on, 48.
Milwaukee, Indians near, 350; trading posts, 361.
Mississippi, 61; headwaters, 48, 400, 454; affluents, 102, 235, 292; watershed, 110; as boundary, 7, 23, 343; as route, 294, 336; ice in, 234; Indians on or near, 111, 112, 238, 249, 274, 282, 299, 330, 365; fur-trade on, xix, 2, 19, 22, 23, 29, 39, 40, 42, 53, 103, 118, 131, 140, 146, 159, 160, 165, 202, 220, 221, 225, 228, 234, 239, 242, 243, 258, 262, 269, 278, 281, 283, 284, 300, 302, 316, 328, 366, 383; fort, xiii, 168, 228, 295, 312; hunting, 35, 36, 52, 141, 354; town, 187; expeditions, 356; resident, 357; in War of 1812–15, 15, 117.
Missouri, as boundary, 18, 28; bank, 173; Indians on or near, 24, 238; fort, 27, 187; expedition, 168; fur-trade, 2, 72, 98.
Muskegon (Maskego), 50.
Oconto (Canton), Indians on, 349.
Ohio, posts on, 312.
Ontonagon, trading site on, 343.
Pensaukee, Indians on, 349.
Peshtigo, Indians on, 349; trade, 334.
Racoon (Iowa), 358.
Raisin, 8; in War of 1812–15, 183.
Red, Dickson on, 103; Selkirk's settlement on, xix, xx, 42, 106, 109–112; destitution of, 113, 114; settlers, 154, 155; traders, 166, 398, 455; hunting, 52. See also Red River settlement and Selkirk.
Red of the North, source, 165.
Rénard. See Fox.
Rock, 23; Indians on, 143, 167, 350; hostilities, 158, 159; fort, 165; traders, 217, 278, 323, 328, 329, 332, 355, 357, 364, 367, 377, 378; trading, 153, 189.
St. Croix (Grand), source, 405–407; tributaries, 396, 404, 407, 411, 414, 466; rapids, 409, 411, 414, 466; islands, 409, 466; ice, 422, 423; Indians, 413, 421, 460; traders, 146, 147; traversed, 458; cache on, 421; camp, 459.
St. Joseph, Indians of, 238; trader, 360.
St. Louis, 401.
St. Mary's, 343.
St. Peter's, 236, 254; source, 36; as route, 170; fur-trade on, 166, 221, 234, 235, 303; post, 161, 168, 205, 219, 258, 260, 268, 383; factory, 39, 266, 287; agent, 264, 274.
St. Pierre, 242; traders, 331.
Saskatchewan, 397, 400, 455; mouth, 160; post on, 155.

Sheboygan. See Sheboygan.
Shell. See Clam.
Snake, Indians on, 403, 409, 410, 412, 416, 421, 422, 453; Sioux frontier, 411, 429; trading on, 343, 459; post, 431; provisions from, 414, 440, 443, 445, 448; sketch, 404.
Spruce (Aux Epinette), 466.
Tippecanoe, 47.
Wabash, traders on, 272, 360; trade route, 7; fort, 2.
White, Indians on, 47, 50.
White Water, 235.
Wisconsin, 48, 50; mouth, 292, 293; ice, 234, 237; as route, 2, 7, 294; Indians on, 143, 157, 350, 362; fur-trade on, 39, 129, 130, 132, 139, 145, 147, 153, 180, 185, 202, 220, 262, 278, 281, 302, 355, 356, 392; wintering, 222, 283, 290, 299, 300; hunting, 281, 284; pioneer, 327; lumbering, 221.
Wolf (Loup), Indians on, 350; fur-trade, 149, 188–190, 278, 323.
Yellow (Jaune), mouth, 409, 414, 465, 466; rapids of, 414, 437, 458, 459, 461, 463; lakes on, 413, 418, 467; trail from, 411; fur-trade on, xx, xxi, 343, 396, 397, 399, 400.
Zumbro (Au Embarrass), post on, 235.
Robert, A., employee, 281.
Roberts, Capt. Charles, commandant at Mackinac, 2.
Robinson, ——, message by, 171.
Robinson, Rix, fur-trader, 217; complaints of, 271–274, 347, 348; sketch, 217, 218.
Rocheblave, Pierre, in South West Company, 19; North West Company, 94; letter by, 113, 114.
Rock Island, battle near, 22; fort at, 166; letter from, 380.
Rogers, Capt. ——, lake skipper, 261.
Rolette, Mrs. Jane, married, 304; witness, 315.
Rolette, Joseph, fur-trader, 24, 52, 63, 146, 217, 222, 234, 235, 299, 302, 304, 308, 363, 369; employees of, 197, 375; transportation for, 196, 197, 282, 283, 316; passport, 59–62; incites Indians against Grignon, 236, 243, 246, 247, 257–260, 265; sells whiskey, 167; complained of, 105, 169, 180, 333, 338, 339; reproved, 275; compromise with, 313–315; letter by, 150, 151; letter to, 255; at Green Bay, 119; at Prairie du Chien, 110, 160, 161, 164; married, 353.
Rolette, Mrs. Joseph, message for, 197.
Rolette, Laurent, trader, 197.
Rouse, Louis, fur-trader, at Green Bay, 371; in Green Bay Company, 278; trading, 51, 52, 131, 188–190, 192, 194, 196, 200, 206, 211, 212; wintering, 283, 300, 302, 303, 326, 333; message for, 304; contract, 313; mother-in-law, 320; sketch, 51.
Roussain, Eustache, trader, 340; naturalized, 177; sketch, 178.
Roy, ——, accounts, 174.
Roy, Alexander, employee, 392.
Roy, François, trader, 132, 184, 232, 388; message for, 196; messenger, 331, 332, 334; at Portage, 318.
Roy, Jean Baptiste, fur-trade engagé, 396–399.
Ruban. See Ribbon.

Saginaw (Mich.), trader at, 227.
St. Charles County (Mo.), 137.
St. Clair, Gen. Arthur, campaign of, 8.
St. Germain, ——, fur-trade employee, 189.
St. Germain, Leon L., naturalized, 177.
St. Ignace, trader at, 345.
St. Jean, ——, employee, 158; trader, 245.
St. Jean, Joseph la Perche *dit*, fur-trader, 22, 29; arrested, 389.
St. John. See St. Jean.
St. Louis, a Spanish town, 234; rendezvous, 111; route via, 160, 161, 164, 170, 187, 248; Indian agency, 215; fur-trade depot, 23, 109, 138, 230, 231, 234, 235, 335, 336, 383; traders, 55, 378; merchants, xv, 259, 303; army headquarters, 24; officials, 363, 365; trial, 51.
St. Mary's. See Sault Ste. Marie.
St. Mary's Falls. See Sault Ste. Marie.
St. Paul (Minn.), pioneer of, 165.
St. Regres, ——, death, 246.
St. Vrain, Felix, Indian agent, 228.
Saketake, Indian messenger, 377.
Sandusky (Ohio), in War of 1812–15, 267.
Sandwich (Ont.), Dickson at, 111.
Sandy Point, Indian village on, 349.
Santa Fé (N. Mex.), road to, 137.
Sarrasin, ——, voyageur, 432; among Indians, 441, 447, 448, 451, 452.
Saskatchewan, Indians of, 112.

Sauk (Sac) Indians, villages, 353, 364; census, 237, 238; hunting, 158; at lead mines, 71, 296; traders for, 356–358, 364, 366, 377; capture Blondeau, 357; visit British, 267; summoned to council, 267; Stambaugh's expedition against, 244; war with Sioux, 92, 298; Winnebago molest, 167; chief at Rock Island, 374; portraits, 366.

Sauk and Fox Indians, habitat, 229; agent for, 228; traders for, 356, 357, 363, 364; visit Washington, 353, 357; council with, 354; treaty, 230, 257, 293.

Sault Ste. Marie, fort at, 245; post built, 249; Indians visit British, 250; commandant, 384; Indian agent, 279, 280, 306, 343, 344; licenses issued, 346; early residents, 25, 155; Cass at, 201; Dickson, 105, 111.

Sauteurs (Saulteurs). See Chippewa.

Savoyard, Toussaint, fur-trade engagé, 396, 401, 402, 405, 406, 410, 416, 430, 467, 468; mends canoe, 407, 417; goes hunting, 409, 462; brings liquor, 419; goes for meat, 424, 428; on drouine, 419, 420, 425, 426; breaks axe, 426; insubordinate, 412–414, 427, 458–460; pays credits, 438; goes fishing, 456, 457, 462, 463, 465, 466, 468, 469; among Indians, 441, 443, 456, 461; superstitions of, 411; wife, 412, 420, 421, 423, 424, 431–434, 457, 460, 464–466; sketch, 397.

Sayer, John, North West trader, 412, 418, 430, 432, 443; at Yellow River, 420, 422, 424–427, 438, 439, 442, 447, 448, 453; post, 428–430, 433, 435, 437, 438; relations with Curot, 421, 423, 441, 433, 445, 446, 453–455, 458, 459; fears Sioux, 434, 444, 448; sends off men, 431, 440, 452, 457; goes with men, 459, 463–465; wife, 449, 453; sketch, 412.

Schachipkaka (War Eagle). See Konokah Decorah.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe, Indian agent, 280, 344; instructions for, 306, 307; *Narrative of an expedition*, 92, 396, 407, 408, 428; sketch, 280.

Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, earl, seizes Fort William, 23, 29; agent of Hudson's Bay Co., 25, 42, 160, 164–166, 170, 171; desires to remove Green Bay habitants, 106; letter by, 109–113. See also Red River settlement and Rivers: Red.

Seneca Indians, assigned to agency, 47.

Serachou (Sarrochau), Winnebago chief, 141.

Shantytown, part of Green Bay, 320, 322; Indians at, 331, 332; trading, 379.

Shaw, Angus, captured, 160.

Shawannon, Indian creditor, 393.

Shawnee Indians, assigned to agency, 47.

Sheboygan (Choboigan), fur-traders at, 323, 325, 342, 360; trading post, 362; mills, 176.

Shoank-tshunc-siap. See Black Wolf.

Shouny ny, Indian creditor, 393.

Sibley, George C., factor, 137.

Sibley, H. H., fur-trader, 197.

Sibley, Dr. John, in Louisiana, 137.

Sibley, Solomon, district attorney, 124.

Silverware, fur-trader's goods, 408, 419.

Sioux, villages, 330, 365; census, 238; dictionary, 268; marry whites, 160, 173; half-breed, 165; fur-trade among, 162, 173, 236, 314, 330, 411, 429; feared by Curot, 434, 444–447, 449; attack Grignon, 235, 242, 246, 258–260, 264, 265, 275; Dickson's influence with, 110, 111; summoned to council, 267; near Snake River, 432, 443; hostility to Chippewa, 396, 404, 408, 422, 425, 429, 462; to Sauk and Foxes, 92, 298; in War of 1812–15, 166.

Small pox, at Green Bay, 320, 322.

Smith, Gardant, fur-trade clerk, 400, 401, 403, 404, 406, 409, 410, 412, 419, 425, 426, 430, 442, 443; insubordinate, 427, 452, 453, 457–460; prepares canoes, 399, 407; fishing, 417, 424, 431–436, 449, 450, 456, 461–466; goes for meat, 424, 425, 430, 432–435, 438, 440, 448, 449; goes for rice, 411–416; on drouine, 417–419, 421–423; during Sioux alarm, 444–447, 462; to remain inland, 467; wife, 399, 414, 421, 423, 431, 433; daughter, 439–441, 452, 453; sketch, 399.

Smith, Jacob, fur-trader, 21.

Smith, Col. Joseph L., commandant at Green Bay, 130, 139, 245; letter by, 141, 142; message for, 145.

Smith, Gen. Thomas, issues permit, 22.

Smoker (Charatchou, Tshayrotshoankaw), Winnebago Indian, 141.

Smuggling, from Drummond Island, 30; on Lake Michigan, 30. See also Revenue cutter.
Snelling, Josiah, letters by, 382–385; reply, 386; returns to post, 387, 388; sketch, 385.
Soleil (Sun), Menominee chief, 227, 281, 322; sketch, 281.
Soulard, Antoine Pierre, fur-trader, 234, 236, 259; sketch, 234.
Soulard, James G., trader, 274.
South Chicago, trader at, 217.
South West Fur Company, furs of, 33; agents, 89; capital, 74; history, 19, 96, 97.
Southard, Henry, Congressman, 12, 37, 190.
Spanish, in Louisiana, 234, 356; influence with Indians, 171.
Spoon Decorah, Winnebago chief, 235.
Sproat, Miss ——, married, 124.
Stambaugh, Col. Samuel C., expedition of, 226, 244.
Stevens Point, pioneers and first newspaper, 317.
Stewart, Adam D., collector, 80, 163.
Stickney, ——, Indian agent, 49.
Stockbridge Indians, arrive at Green Bay, 320; protest against, 328; sketch, 320.
Stone, David, influence with government, 56; in business, 25, 36, 52, 380.
Stone & Co., merchants, 336.
Stone, Bostwick & Co., merchants, 25, 26.
Stone, David & Co., merchants, 380.
Straits—
Mackinac, 2, 21, 38.
Sault de Ste. Marie, 30.
Stuart, Robert, Mackinac agent of American Fur Company, 31, 88, 104, 128, 162, 176, 200, 206, 236, 282, 283, 290, 291, 315, 319, 323, 337, 338; at Washington, 134; goes to Prairie du Chien, 225, 234; agreement, 342; letters by, 135–137, 171, 172, 254, 255, 304, 316–318, 329, 330, 368–371, 378–380; characterized, 277; sketch, 128.
Stuart, Mrs. Robert, messages, 200, 206, 371.
Sturgeon Dam. See La Meckoiganne.
Sun. See Soleil.
Superior (Wis.), posts at, 401; trail to, 405.
"Superior", Lake Michigan schooner, 201, 291.
Swampy Cree Indians. See Maskegon.
Swan, Moses, fur-trader, 318, 323, 328, 332, 337; sketch, 318.
Swan River (Minn.), trader at, 340.
Swanson, David, employee, 118.
Swiss, missionaries to America, 330.

Tabac, Menominee Indian, 194.
Tabac Noir, Indian creditor, 393, 395.
Tackle, T., memoir by, 1–12.
Tail Point, Indian village at, 349.
Taillefer, Joseph, fur-trader, 429, 439.
Tailler, Jean Baptiste, employee, 118.
Taka na châs, Indian creditor, 394.
Taland, François, winterer, 212, 213.
Talliaferro, Maj. Lawrence, Indian agent, 258, 260, 264, 274, 275; sketch, 258.
Tanner, John, interpreter, 345.
Tauteken le Gausier, Indian creditor, 394.
Taycheedah, Indian village at, 141.
Taylor, Maj. Zachary, at Green Bay, 34.
Tchika makichine, Indian creditor, 394.
Tecumseh, allies of, 267.
Thismac, Indian woman, 246.
Thomas, L. E., aid acknowledged, xxi, 467.
Thwaites, Fredrik T., *Sandstones of the Wisconsin Coast of Lake Superior*, 402.
Thwaites, Reuben G., *Daniel Boone*, 9; *Early Western Travels*, 410; *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 410.
Tockimigo, Indian debtor, 108, 156.
Tompkins, Daniel D., vice-president, 163.
Toquonigont, Menominee Indian, 195.
Torongeo, son of La Tortu, 393.
Toronto. See York.
Transportation, directions for, 172–174; of goods, 187, 188, 196–198; provisions, 282; in winter, 321; prices, 151, 152.
Traverse County (Minn.), traders in, 165.
Traverse des Sioux (Minn.), trader at, 174.
Treaties—
Paris (1783), 2.
Jay's (1794), xi, 17, 120, 121, 124, 127, 128.
Greenville (1795), 9, 60.
Osage (1808), 68.
Ghent (1814), xii, xiii.
Indian (1815), 357.

Treaties (continued)—
Portage des Sioux (1815–16), xii.
Sauk and Fox (1816), 293.
Great Britain (1818), 109, 110.
New York Indians (1822), 284.
Sauk and Fox (1824), 357.
Prairie du Chien (1825), 28, 141, 330, 357.
Indian (1825–32), 141, 143.
Butte des Morts (1827), 141, 299, 316.
Winnebago (1827–29, 1846), 299.
In Michigan (1836), 218.
Trempealeau. See Mount Trempealeau.
Trudelle, ——, engagé, 452.
Tshayrotshoankaw. See Smoker.
Tshi-zun-hau-kau, Winnebago chief, portrait, 140.
Tullibee, in northern Wisconsin, 433.
Turcotte, François, employee, 281.
Turcotte, Pierre, employee, 281.
"Tyger," Lake Michigan schooner, 303, 304, 317, 318, 320, 324, 379.

"Union", Lake Micnigan schooner, 324.
United States, Bureau of Ethnology *Report*, 406.

Van Tricht, Dr. ——, collects Sioux vocabulary, 268.
Varnum, Joseph B. Jr., in fur-trade, 20, 89; factor at Chicago, 242.
Vassal, ——, trader, 405.
Verville. See Gautier.
Vieau, Andrew J., cited, 361.
Vieau, Jacques, fur-trader, 176; posts, 360, 361, 367, 368; at Milwaukee, 217, 233, 273, 318, 328, 337–339, 342; debt, 380; message for, 371.
Vieau, Paul, letter, 367.
Vieau, Peter, cited, 361.
Villeneuve, J., employee, 281.
Vincennes (Ind.), Indian agency at, 238.

Wabasha (La Feuille), Sioux chief, 236, 365; village, 235, 330; sister's son, 160.
Wabasha (Minn.), trader at, 197.
Wabisinini. See Le Signe.
Wacquaw, Indian village, 224.
Wagner, George, aid acknowledged, xxi; notes by, 433, 437, 442, 463.
"Walk-in-the-Water", first lake steamboat, 245, 247; picture of, 245.
Walker, Lieut. Benjamin, at Green Bay, 324.
Walking Cloud, Winnebago chief, 143.
Walking Turtle. See Caramaunee.
Wampum, use of, 109, 334.
War Eagle. See Konokah Decorah.
War Road, trading site, 343.
Warner, Elijah, oath, 180.
Warren, Lyman, fur-trader, 341.
Warren, Truman A., fur-trader, 341, 342; sketch, 341.
Warren, William W., "History of Ojibways," 396.
Wars—
American Revolution (1775–82), 217.
French Revolution (1789–1815), 234.
Whiskey Rebellion (1794), 10.
1812–15, participants in, 141, 160, 166, 168, 174, 183, 186, 203, 256, 258, 281, 296, 299, 312, 319, 320, 357, 359, 360; officers, 134; traders, 60; Indians, 235, 330; operations, xi, xii, 1–12, 139, 155, 227, 228; massacre, 315; losses, 272.
Winnebago (1827), 128, 217, 236.
Black Hawk (1832), 244, 256, 270, 299, 336, 357.
Florida Indians (1835–42), 336.
Mexico (1846–47), 336.
Secession (1861–65), 227, 271, 304, 316, 336.
Warsaw (Ill.), forts near, 228.
Washiga, Indian creditor, 394.
Washington, George, founds factory system, 4, 5.
Washington (D. C.), visited by Indians, 244, 316, 317, 353, 357; *Gazette*, 163.
Washington County, Indians in, 361.
Watap, described, 466, 469.
Waukau, Menominee village, 148.
Waukesha County, Indian village in, 281.
Wawhe naukaye, Indian creditor, 394.
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, in Indian wars, 8, 9, 60, 117.
Waynesant, Indian creditor, 322.
Webb, James Watson, in Wisconsin, 270, 271, 275.
Weherasaga, Indian creditor, 394.
Wells, Gen. Samuel, in War of 1812–15. 8, 9.
Wells, Capt. William, death, 8, 9.
Wenesate, Menominee Indian, 395.
Wepit. See La Dans le ne coupé.
Wheeler, S. A., Green Bay resident, 324, 334.

Whelan (Whalene), John, fur-trader, 101, 148, 149, 223.
Whistler, Maj. William, 256; at Green Bay, 92, 102, 108, 139–144, 281, 282; at Mackinac, 348; sketch, 92, 93.
White Bear (l'ours blanc), Indian, robbed, 195.
Whitney, Daniel, Green Bay merchant, 221, 282, 296, 321, 323–326; transportation agent, 232, 237, 247, 274, 387; sketch, 221; portrait, 221.
Wight, William W., "Eleazar Williams," 284.
Wild rice. See Rice.
Wilkesbarre (Pa.), boats at, 381.
Willard, Josiah, clerk of court, 178, 179.
Williams, Rev. Eleazar, at Green Bay, 284, 317, 320; married, 100; sketch, 284.
Williams, Capt. William, governor of Red River settlements, 160.
Willson, Thomas, 188.
Wilmette (Ill.), site, 270.
Winchester, Gen. James, in War of 1812–15, 8.
Wing, Ottawa chief, 182.
Winnebago (Puants) Indians, habitat, 188; villages, 299; language, 298, 316; character, 144; chiefs, 235; census, 50, 143, 168, 237, 238, 349, 350; marry whites, 147; fur-trade with, 129, 146, 156, 157, 202, 259, 314, 356, 357, 363–365, 367, 375, 376, 393–395; use of liquor, 308; hostilities by, xii, 117, 126, 128, 139–144, 153, 154, 158, 159, 165, 167–169, 171, 217, 248; interpreter, 157; at lead mines, 216; near Portage, 362, 366; visit British, 267; visit Washington, 316; treaty with New York Indians, 284; portraits, 140, 267.
Winnebago County, pioneers, 195.
Winnebago Rapids, agency at, 100.
Winneconne, site, 148.
Winona (Minn.), site, 235, 330; *Winona and Olmstead Counties*, 235.
Wirt, William, legal opinion, 121–123.
Wisconsin, annexed to Michigan Territory, 80; boundary, 466; territorial legislature, 381; Geological and Natural History Survey, 402.
Woi che one, Indian creditor, 395.
Woikitan, Indian messenger, 132.
Woinisatte, Indian creditor, 224.
Wolcott, Alexander Jr., Indian agent at Chicago, 276.
Wolf, Chippewa Indian, 467.
Wolf, Indian village, 350.
Woodbridge, William, 135; congressional delegate, 169; secretary of Michigan Territory, 80; acting governor, 123; letters to, 138, 139, 162–164.
Wood-water-hill village. See Red Wing.
Woolley, Maj. ——, information from, 187.
Wright, ——, lake captain, 174.
Wyandot Indians, assigned to agency, 47; chief, 245.

X Y Company, fur-traders, xx, xxi, 396–400, 425, 455, 458; post, 401, 412, 415.

Yale College, graduate, 276.
York (Canada), 103, 106, 165, 203, 352.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN CENTERS
3 4474 0684 5244